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ART. VII.—*The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty.* By E. DENISON ROSS, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

THE most exhaustive, if not the best known, source for the history of Shāh Ismaʿīl the Ṣafavī, is undoubtedly the Ḥabib-us-Siyar of Khwāndamīr. Though this large and important work has been lithographed, both in Ṭīhrān and in Bombay, it is but too little known in Europe, where it has generally been regarded as a mere epitome of the Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā; whereas, besides being an original source for much valuable biographical and geographical matter, it contains detailed accounts of many little-known dynasties. Khwāndamīr's work is thus in many respects more interesting than the ponderous universal history of his grandfather.¹ Now, there is a work, of which the British Museum possesses one copy,² and the Cambridge University Library a second,³

¹ Dr. Rieu (see "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum," vol. i, p. 87) was the first to point out that Mirkhwānd was the grandfather of Khwāndamīr, and not his father, as hitherto generally supposed.

² B.M. Oriental, 3248 (see Dr. Rieu's Supplement).

³ Cambridge University Library, Add. 200 (see Mr. Browne's Catalogue, p. 147).

which is devoted entirely to the biography of Shāh Isma'il. Neither MS. bears a title nor gives any author's name, and in no part of the work have I been able to find a clue to the author's identity. MS. L¹ bears the title جهانکشای خاقان صاحبقران, which is taken from the Epilogue, and in the very last line after الحمد لله وسلم تسليماً we read ذر بيمقدار محمد علي بن نور, which, according to Dr. Rieu, is most probably meant for the transcriber and not the author. The work ends with a short account of the accession of Isma'il's son Ṭahmāsp, and with prayers for the prosperity and long life of the young prince. This would lead one to fix the completion of the history soon after the accession of Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā in A.H. 930. On the other hand, on fol. 277*a* of MS. L, we are told, in a momentary digression from the main narrative, that Moḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was drowned in the Ganges in the year 947, on the occasion of Humāyūn's retreat from Bengal.² It does not seem evident that our history was completed after this date; and therefore this incident was probably added by some copyist. There is in the British Museum a MS.³ containing the lives of Shāhs Isma'il and Ṭahmāsp. It is the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, and was commenced in A.H. 955 (fol. 5*b*). Now I have attempted to show below that Maḥmūd made use of our history, which was therefore in existence in A.H. 955. Maḥmūd mentions that he had used many histories in the compilation of his work, but of them all he only mentions by name that of his father. In the opening pages of Maḥmūd's history there is much close correspondence with the beginning of the work we are discussing.

MS. A,⁴ fol. 1*b*, and B, fol. 8*b*, have a verbal agreement of several lines, and then follows a passage of about one

¹ For brevity we will speak throughout of the London MS. as L. and of the Cambridge MS. as C.

² See Elliot, v, 203.

³ Oriental, 2939. I believe there is no other copy of this work to be found in the libraries of Europe.

⁴ A = History of Isma'il. B = Maḥmūd's History.

folio in each, where the two MSS. only differ in this, that B is more ornate in style and contains two additional sentences in Arabic. Hereupon in B follows a life of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn Ishaq, while A, no longer corresponding, gives some facts concerning Fīrūz Shāh, of whom B says nothing. In A, fol. 8*b*, and B, fol. 10*b*, we have a description, similar in diction, of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn's dream. B, fol. 19*a* to fol. 23*b*, contains a biography of Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, to whom A devotes only half a page (fol. 11*b*). I have given these details [and I give no more, for I think them sufficient testimony] in order to show how little probability there is of our history (A) being also the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, as was suggested by Dr. Rieu after a very cursory inspection of the two MSS.

A comparison of our history (A) with the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar will show that there is a very close correspondence in them; nearly always in arrangement and not unfrequently in actual wording, which is especially remarkable in the opening sentences of chapters. The headings of chapters, though generally agreeing in matter, never correspond verbally. The verses which abound throughout our history are usually the same as those occurring in the corresponding passage in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, but in many cases the quotations are not so long. This all points very clearly to a case of plagiarism.

On the other hand, there are many biographical and geographical details in our history which are not to be found in the work of Khwāndamīr, and which, therefore, go to prove that our author did not, at any rate, use the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar as his only model or authority. Khwāndamīr completed his history in 930 — one month before Shāh Isma'il's death; up till this time, at any rate, he seems to have lived in Khorāsān, and we have no mention of his having visited other parts of Northern Persia. He, therefore, did not probably obtain his information about Shāh Isma'il on the spot, but got his facts either from some of Shāh Isma'il's courtiers who came to Khorāsān, or from some contemporary history

unknown to us. He quotes no authorities in his account of the Ṣafavis except in the case of the history of Shaikh Ṣafi-ud-Dīn; these details he naturally and avowedly derives from the large biography of that saint called Ṣafwat-uṣ-Ṣafā.¹ [Khwāndamīr notices incidentally that Maulānā Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī, a contemporary of Ḥasan Beg, wrote a history of that prince, but he, Khwāndamīr, being unable to obtain a copy, gives no account of his reign.]

Thus weighing these considerations we may suppose that our history was written by a man closely connected with the Ṣafavis, and who, though taking the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar as a general model, had personal acquaintance with the country of which he wrote, first-hand information and perhaps other histories to rely on for his details. With regard to the date of composition we would place it either at the beginning of Ṭahmāsp's reign² or about the middle (A.H. 950) according to the genuineness of the note on Moḥammad Mirzā Zamān, mentioned above.

The portion of our history, which offers the most original matter, is that which deals with the early youth of Shāh Isma'il. Much of this is no doubt legendary and fictitious, but it is probably based mainly on historical fact and is at any rate interesting as showing us the stories current at the time regarding this brave and no less bigoted king. I had originally intended to publish a consecutive extract of the text [ff. 20b-60a of the British Museum MS.]³ with a translation, references to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar and general notes. But on consideration I have decided to give the text and translation only of those passages that offer details quite foreign to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and which may serve as addenda to Khwāndamīr's important account—of

¹ See British Museum, Add. 11,745.

² This is certainly the more probable conjecture. The life of Shāh Isma'il, though most eventful, was a comparatively short one, and our author might have been a grown man at the time of Isma'il's birth (A.H. 892) and still have lived to write his history after the king's death (A.H. 930).

³ In my notes L refers to the British Museum copy of our history and C to the Cambridge MS. In the text I have used the following signs: () = peculiar to C; [] = peculiar to L.

which I would remark, in passing, a new critical edition would well repay the labour any one might bestow on it.

After mentioning that Isma'il Bahādur Khān¹ was the fruit of the union of Sultān Ḥaidar with Ḥalīma Begum, known as 'Alam Shāh Begum, daughter of Amir Ḥasan Beg, the Turkoman, our author recounts a tradition concerning the origin of the name *Kizil bāsh*. This is not given in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, which merely tells us that Ḥaidar fashioned a cap with twelve points out of crimson cloth, which was adopted by all his followers.

[MS. L, fol. 20b.]

سلطان حیدر شبی در خواب دید که شهریار مسند هدایت
و ولایت یعنی حضرت امیر المؤمنین صلوات اللہ علیہ ظاهر
کشته [21a] فرمودند کہ ای فرزند وقت آن شدہ کہ از عقب تو
فرزند ما خروج کند و کاف کفر را از روی عالم براندازد اما میباید
کہ از برای صوفیان و مریدان خود تاجی بسازی از سقرلاط سرخ
و آن حضرت مقراض در دست داشت و (ہیأت)² تاجرا برید
بدوازده ترک قرار داد چون سلطان حیدر بیدار کردید آن روش را
در خاطر داشت بہمان روش سلطان حیدر تاجی برید و صوفیانرا
مقرر کرد کہ ہر کدام تاجی بدان محو ساخته بر سر گذارند و او را
تاج حیدری نام نہادند چون بلغت ترکی سرخرا قزل میگویند

¹ In our text his full title is usually *Khākān Sāhib Kīrān Sulaimān-shāh Isma'il Bahādur Khān*. It is curious that our author should have appropriated for Isma'il the title of *Sāhib Kīrān*, which is in Persian Histories almost the exclusive "property," as it were, of the great Timūr. It is interesting to remark how Purchas says that Uzūn Ḥasan moved with the fame of Ḥaidar gave him in marriage his daughter Martha, begot of a Christain lady Despina, daughter of Calo Johannes, Emperor of Trebizond "both of them by that alliance strengthening themselves against the Turke," and this Martha was the mother of Isma'il, "whom she trayned up in the principles of Christain Religion." See Purchas "*Pilgrim*," 4th ed., pp. 382, 383.

² [ہیئت].

بدین سبب این طبقهٔ علیّه بقزلباش اشتهار یافتند چون این خبر بحسن پادشاه رسید او کس بخدمت سلطان حیدر فرستاد و اظهار نمود که ای فرزند تاجی که ساخته بفرست تا به بینم سلطان حیدر تاجی بخدمت حسن پادشاه فرستاد چون چشم (حسن) پادشاه بآن تاج افتاد او را خوش آمده برداشت و بوسید و بر سر نهاد و باولاد خود گفت تا آن را بر سر نهادند و سلطان یعقوب پسرش بر سر نهاد هر چند پدرش مبالغه نمود او قبول نکرد و کمر عداوت سلطان حیدر را بدینجهت بر میان جان بست چون حسن پادشاه تخت سلطنت را وداع نموده سلطان خلیل پسرش و بعد از آن سلطان یعقوب پادشاه شد بسبب کینه که سابقا از سلطان حیدر در دل داشت مردم را منع کرد و گفت [216] وای بر حال آنکس که تاج سلطان حیدر را بر سر نهد و باولاد شیخ صفی دشمن شد و قدغن کرد که دیگر مریدان شیخ صفی تاج بر سر نگذارند چون سلطان یعقوب اعمال حسنه خود را بافعال سئیه تبدیل نمود و نسبت باین دودمان ولایت نشان تغییر سلوک کرد بدان سبب اساس دولت سلاطین آق قوینلو روی بانهدام آورد چنانچه از (سیاق) کلام آینده حقیقت آن معلوم خواهد شد انشا الله تعالی

Translation :—

One night the Prince of the throne of Guidance and Sanctity, that is to say the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī), upon whom be the prayers of God, appeared in a vision to Sultān Ḥaidar, and said to him: "Oh my son, the time is now at hand when my child from among your descendants shall arise and sweep Infidelity from off the

face of the Earth. It now behoves you to fashion a cap for the Ṣūfīs and your disciples, and you must make it of scarlet cloth." So saying His Sanctity cut out with a pair of scissors which he had in his hand a pattern of a cap with twelve points [*tarak*]. On awaking Sultān Ḥaidar remembered the form, and having cut out a cap to that pattern, ordained that all the Ṣūfīs should make for themselves caps like it and wear them. They gave it the name of *Tāj-i-Ḥaidarī* or Ḥaidar's Cap; and as in the Turkish language *Kizil* means scarlet, this holy body became known as the *Kizilbāsh* or "Red-heads." When Ḥasan Pādishāh heard of these doings he sent a messenger to Sultān Ḥaidar saying: "Oh my son, send me one of the caps which thou hast made that I may see it." Thereupon Sultān Ḥaidar sent him a cap, and when Ḥasan Pādishāh saw it he was pleased with it, and taking it up kissed it and placed it on his own head, after which he bade each of his children do likewise. But his son Ya'kūb did not place it on his head, and in spite of all his father's entreaties refused to do so. In this manner did he bind round his soul the girdle of hostility towards Sultān Ḥaidar.

When Ḥasan Pādishāh bade farewell to his regal throne he was succeeded by his son Sultān Khalīl, who was in turn succeeded by Sultān Ya'kūb. On account of the hatred he had formerly cherished in his heart for Sultān Ḥaidar he warned his subjects saying: "Woe unto that man who places on his head the cap of Sultān Ḥaidar." He thus became an enemy to the children of Shaikh Ṣafī; and he moreover issued a decree that the disciples of Shaikh Ṣafī should no longer wear their caps. In thus changing his former righteous actions for evil and impious deeds, and in opposing this holy race, Sultān Ya'kūb brought about the ruin of the dynasty of the White Sheep, as, God willing, will be clearly shown in the following chapters.

The tradition is of course a gross fabrication, and, as Prof. Nöldeke suggested to me, was an attempt to attribute an honourable origin to the somewhat disrespectful name of *Kizilbāsh*.

After this digression in our history there is a close correspondence of narrative in the two works, containing an account of Sultān Ḥaidar's invasion of Shirwān, his death, and the subsequent imprisonment of his sons in Iṣṭakhr by Sultān Ya'kūb. The story of the release of the Princes and of the engagement in which Rustem Mirzā defeated the Shirwānīs is given much more fully in our history. Space does not admit of my giving the text of this extract, I therefore confine myself to giving a translation of the same, placing within square brackets those details which are also found in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and mentioning in a note any details given in this latter work not to be met with in our own.

Bāisunkar Mirzā having been deserted by his own men in an encounter with Rustem Mirzā, fled to his uncle, Shirwānshāh, while Rustem Mirzā, making a triumphant entry into Tabriz, set himself upon its throne. Here follows a chapter entitled: *Liberation of the Princes from the Castle of Iṣṭakhr-i-Fārs, and the end of the Turkomān Sultāns.*¹

[When Sultān Farrukh Shirwānshāh was informed of the misfortunes of Bāisunkar Mirzā, who was both his sister's son and his son-in-law, he resolved to help him to re-establish his power. Rustem Mirzā, for his part, being alarmed at the support offered to Bāisunkar Mirzā by the Shirwānīs and Shirwānshāh, held council with the Bāyandari² chiefs and nobles as to how he might best resist him. All were of opinion that he should set about the release of Sultān 'Alī and the Princes] and become a disciple of their holy race: for under the blessed auspices of that saintly person the repulsion of the allies would become an easy matter. "Moreover" (they added) "the adherents and disciples of the Ṣafavī Sūfīs are numerous in all parts of the world, and when they hear of the release (of the Princes) they will soon assemble in great numbers.

¹ L, fol. 25b.

² *Bāyandari* is a name often applied to the dynasty of Uzūn Ḥasan—the white sheep—after the name of a person to whom they trace back their descent.

Sultān 'Alī, being a brave youth, must be sent to fight Bāisunḡar Mīrzā, whom, with the support of his own Šūfis and the Turkomāns, he will overcome. Having thus got rid of this rival, it will be an easy matter to dispose of Sultān 'Alī. [Rustem Pādishāh agreeing with this plan, sent an envoy to fetch the children of Sultān Haidar from the castle of Ištakhr-i-Fārs.]

Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh entered Tabriz with all pomp and dignity, and was received with affectionate embraces by Rustem Mīrzā, who paid him great respect and said: "Oh! my life, what they have done to you is now past, and by God's help I will make amends for it. You are as a brother to me, and at my death¹ you shall become king of Īrān." He then ordered to be given to Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā kingly appurtenances, such as a crown with a crest (*ṛīka*), an embroidered girdle, a sword and a belt-dagger, together with Arab steeds with golden saddles and other articles of luxury. He then said to him: "I have conferred on you the title of king (*pādishāh*), you shall no longer be called '*Mīrzā*.'" [Now, when the Šūfis and followers of that family, who had crept into the nooks of obscurity and disappointment, heard of these doings, they turned their faces towards the blessed threshold of their sovereign lord; and the band of devotees daily increased in numbers and in strength.]

In the meantime news reached Amīrzāda Rustem's ears of the arrival in Azarbāijān of Bāisunḡar Mīrzā with the troops of Shirwān. He therefore entreated Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to undertake, with his own Šūfis and in conjunction with Abiya² Sultān and the Turkoman army, to repulse Bāisunḡar Mīrzā and the men of Shirwān, in order that his (Rustem's) mind might be set at ease with regard to them. [Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh acceding to this request set out along with Abiya Sultān, full of confidence,

¹ L, fol. 26a.

² The reading of this name is doubtful. The Bombay edition of the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* writes *ابيه*; the London MS. of same *ابيه*; while in both MSS. of our history it is written *ابيه*.

to oppose Bāisunḡar Mirzā and the army of Shirwān. They advanced as far as the ford of the river Kur, where they pitched their tents; while on the opposite bank of the river Kur Bāisunḡar Mirzā lay encamped with a large army. Both armies protected their flanks from any attack by means of palisades] and victory did not seem to promise for either side;¹ so that the two forces grew weary of their protracted inaction, and without any encounter or conflict having taken place [Bāisunḡar Mirzā returned to Shirwān and Sulṡān 'Alī Pādishāh and Abiya Sulṡān to Tabriz. While this was passing Kūsa Ḥājī Bāyandarī, governor of Iṡfahān, having declared open revolt against Amīrzāda Rustem, read the *Khutba* in the name of Bāisunḡar Mirzā,] and set about collecting an army and making ready for an expedition.² It was for this reason that Bāisunḡar Mirzā a second time led a large army into Azarbāijān. [Amīrzāda Rustem seeing himself become on two sides a target to hostile arrows, again called upon Sulṡān 'Alī Pādishāh to avert from him these two overwhelming dangers.] Whereupon Sulṡān 'Alī Pādishāh, in compliance with the Amīrzāda's request, again set out with Abiya Sulṡān, a body of his own followers, and the Turkomān army to meet the insurgents. [He told off Ḳarā Piri Kājār³ with a large body of Ṣūfis to engage Kūsa Ḥājī Bāyandarī] while he himself set out to oppose Bāisunḡar Mirzā, whom he encountered in the vicinity of Ahar Shakīn.⁴ The opposing forces then began to make ready for battle: (Sulṡān 'Alī) placed the right of his army under the command of Ḥusain Beg Shāmlū Lala and Rustem Beg Ḳaramānlū, and over the left he appointed Dede Beg Ṭalish—known as Abdāl

¹ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar differs in this place, saying: "There was an occasional interchange of arrows, and every day small conflicts took place, but on none of those days did victory declare itself for either side, and one could not distinguish which were the victors and which the conquered."

² L, fol. 26b.

³ L and C read Kājār, but the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says Tawājī, whose name also appears at the end of this chapter.

⁴ Thus in L: C reads Ahar Mashkin. It is noticeable that the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives no details concerning this battle, of which our author is able to give us so exact an account. On the margin of the Bombay edition we find the date given as 897.

'Alī Beg—and Khādīm Beg Khalifa, while the skirmishing party, composed of the rest of the Turkomāns, was led by Abiya Sultān. The Prince himself took up his stand with a body of devotees under the shadow of the victorious standard.

On the other side, Bāisunkar Mīrzā gave his right wing to Shaikh Shāh, son of Sultān Farrukh Shirwānshāh, and his left to Malik Salīm, one of the renowned *maliks* of Shirwān, while he took up his own position in the centre of his army facing the Prince's standard. These tactics being completed, valorous youths entered the field and began to encourage and incite the soldiers to battle. When the troops had thus been worked up into a state of fervour, the skirmishers from both sides advanced and fell upon each other. So numerous were the flying arrows and so thick the clouds of dust that the air became dark as the heart of a Sunnī.¹ Abiya Sultān next charged down upon the Shirwānīs and put them to flight; seeing which Bāisunkar Mīrzā sent Malik Selim to their aid and brought the Shirwānī right and left wings into the field. (In the encounter that ensued) Abiya Sultān received a spear-wound, and so severe was the onslaught of the enemy that he was unable to withstand them, and turned in flight. The Prince perceiving the helpless condition of Abiya Sultān and the disorder among the Turkomāns, gave a signal to the Šūfī right and left wings to advance to their aid. In obedience to this order Ḥusain Beg Lala and Abdāl 'Alī Beg Dede charged forward, quick as lightning, from either side, and in one brave onslaught threw confusion among the Shirwānī troops. Bāisunkar Mīrzā, alarmed by the daring attacks of the *ghāzīs*, now sent into the fray his foot-archers and mounted-lancers, who had been posted in his centre. (The former discharged a volley of arrows upon the *ghāzīs*, and so dense was the shower of deadly points that those brave men were panic-stricken. Maddened at this repulse the Prince himself now entered the fray, and

¹ L, fol. 27a.

with thrusts from his terrible spear swept his enemies from the field.) Bāisunḡar Mīrzā, dislodged by a spear from his saddle, fell dead to the ground, and one of the Ṣūfīs with a sharp dagger severed his arrogant head from the body, and threw it in the path of the Prince's steed.

Thus by the blessing of the courage of that holy Prince were the Shirwānīs overcome; and in that battle Bāisunḡar Mīrzā was slain.

[Meanwhile Ḳarā Pīrī Tawājī, having encountered Kūsa Ḥājī near Dar Guzīn, under the blessed auspices of "His Sanctity" had overcome his enemy and slain Kūsa Ḥājī.]¹ Both these pieces of good news reached Tabrīz on the same night, and Amīrzāda Rustem was delighted and overjoyed at the victories.

Death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh.²

The victorious Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh now returned to Tabrīz. Rustem Pādishāh sent out a party to receive him, and himself, having ridden three forasangs out of the town to meet him with all honour, rode into Tabrīz at his side. [Soon after this he with great state set the Prince and his brothers on the road to Ardabīl, in which blessed town the Prince mounted the throne of his ancestors, and became a religious guide to the Ṣūfīs and devotees.³ His entry was a most propitious event for that city, which now became a rival to the garden of Iram. The pious began to assemble in Ardabīl that they might benefit by attending upon that Upholder of the Faith, and the number of the Ṣūfīs there collected together soon became very great. When Rustem Mīrzā learned that high and low were thus flocking round Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, jealousy enflamed his heart, and he was filled with anxiety lest the Prince might turn against

¹ L, fol. 27b.

² In this place the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar has a chapter entitled "Death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, and the honour done to Lāhijān by the blessing of His Sanctity's journey thither," and resolves into one chapter what our author extends to three.

³ هراخواهان = well-wishers, supporters (of the Ṣafavīs).

him ; so he sent an envoy to bring back the Prince and his brothers to Tabriz.]

Though he still treated him with outward regard, he commissioned spies to see that the Prince had no communication with the Šūfīs. Nevertheless, his faithful disciples contrived secretly to send him gifts of ready money and various stores, thus putting to the test the coin of their devotion.¹ When Rustem Mirzā heard of this he was filled with anxiety in regard to the sons of Sulṭān Haidar. [That winter² he quartered in Khūi.] Just as Rustem Mirzā was leaving this place to move into summer quarters, some malicious men reported to him calumniating stories (of the Prince), and advised him to make an end of that Prince. He, therefore, arranged with his generals that on the morrow they should hold a big meeting and then and there [put to death the princes, together with all the nobles (*buzurgān*), Šūfīs, and disciples of Shaikh Ṣafī (in Ardabīl), and likewise those in Tabriz]. But a certain Turkomān, who loved the children of Shaikh Ṣafī, betook himself to the dwelling of Sulṭān 'Alī Pādishāh and informed the princes of Rustem Pādishāh's design. On hearing this alarming news, Sulṭān 'Alī Pādishāh in that same night warned his nobles thereof, saying : "To-morrow they intend to kill me and you ; what is to be done ?" Husain Beg Lala, Dede Beg Ṭālīsh, Qarā Pīr Beg Kājār, and Ilyās Beg said : "May we be thy sacrifice ! Arise and let us go to Ardabīl, for there and in that neighbourhood you have many disciples. If Rustem Pādishāh should wish to pursue us, we will give him fight. If, however, he neglects to follow us, we shall remain unharmed."³ The Prince replied "Very well."

That same night they rode away in the direction of Ardabīl. At dawn next day they brought Rustem Pādishāh news that Sulṭān 'Alī Pādishāh had fled, and was

¹ L, fol. 28a.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date 898.

³ I have thus rendered a short sentence which I found difficult to translate—

اگر توانا بود ما نیز بحال خود خواهیم بود

on his way to Ardabīl. (Rustem) was much perturbed, and ordered his adoptive-son,¹ Ḥusain Beg 'Alikhānī, and Abiya Sultān, the Turkomān, to mount their horses and overtake the fugitives as quickly as possible. For, he said, should Sultān 'Alī once enter Ardabīl (which God forbid!)² the deaths of 10,000 Turkomāns would be of no avail. Thereupon Abiya Sultān set out, at the head of 5000 Turkomāns, in hot pursuit.

When the Princes reached a village in the vicinity of Ardabīl called Shammāsī, Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh comprehended by the power of his sanctity that he would shortly taste the wine of martyrdom. He therefore called for his brother Isma'īl Mīrzā, and said to him: "Oh! my brother, it is pre-ordained that I shall this day be killed. The disciples will take my body and place it in the mausoleum of my ancestors, by my father's side. I desire you to avenge me and your father and your ancestors upon the children of Ḥasan Pādishāh. For the die of heaven's choice has been cast in your name, and before long you will come out of Gīlān like a burning sun, and with your sword sweep infidelity from the face of the earth." So saying he took Sultān Ḥaidar's cap from his own head, and placed it on his brother's, and then bound his own girdle round his brother's girdle. After this he spoke into his ear those maxims which he had received as an inheritance from his noble ancestors. He next chose out seven men, among them Ḥasain Beg Lala, Karāpirī Beg, Abdāl Beg, and Dede Beg Tālīsh, and ordered them to proceed to Ardabīl with Isma'īl Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.

Meanwhile the approach of Abiya Sultān and Ḥusain Beg 'Alikhānī with the enemies' troops was reported.³ Abiya Sultān leaving a body of men in ambush, himself advanced into the battle-field. Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, having finished his commendations to his brother, hastened out to meet the enemy, and as soon as he perceived that rabble he bore

¹ پسر خوانده .

² L, fol. 28b.

³ *lit.* "notified."

down upon them with his Ṣūfīs, and in one daring charge completely broke their ranks. In that battle "His Sanctity"¹ complained that the men of the day had forgotten the mode of fighting of Rustem and Isfandyār.²

When Abiya Sulṭān saw the valorous onset of the Prince and the discomfiture of his own men, being overcome by fear of the fiery lance of that undaunted rider and the cleaving swords of the brave Ṣūfīs, he turned and fled with Husain Beg 'Alikhānī, hotly pursued by the Prince. Meanwhile the *ghāzīs*³ entered the Turkomān camp and began to pillage.⁴ On this account the Prince was not accompanied by more than 300 men; yet he persisted in giving chase to that rabble, and slew many of them with sword and spear, till they reached a river which crossed their road; into this the Prince fell with his horse, and failing to extricate himself was drowned. Disheartened at this fatality the Ṣūfīs dispersed in flight, while those who were engaged in pillaging⁵ were put to death.

After the battle 'Alam Shāh Begum ordered the body of that cypress from the garden of the Imāmate to be conveyed to Ardabil, to be there interred beside the tomb of his noble ancestor (may God have mercy on him and his fathers!). This event occurred in the year 900.⁶

At this place begins an account of the adventures of "the Princes" in Gīlān and the subsequent experiences of Isma'il in Lāhijān. As the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar affords us

¹ Isma'il is also frequently spoken of throughout the work as "*ān ḥazrat*" (or His Sanctity), but as this title seems strange to European ears thus applied, I have preferred generally to render this (and any other epithet applied to him) by his name only.

² L, fol. 29a. The foregoing sentence is a little obscure. It is at any rate unimportant.

³ It is hard to render this expression in English. It means more than warriors and less than "fighters for the faith." A *ghazāt* originally meant merely a freebooting-raid. It next became applied to the "holy war" for the propagation of the faith, and after that to any war carried on by believers, for whatsoever object.

⁴ The expression used is جمع کردن کسب. کسب might mean booty, but I can find no trace of کسب being employed in this sense.

⁵ See preceding note.

⁶ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date as 898.

scarcely any details on these subjects I have chosen to give the full text and translation of the following chapters of our history which deal with these adventures. The few facts that do occur also in the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* I have again placed within square brackets.

(From the minuteness of our author's details, both in regard to Isma'īl's adventures and in regard to accounts of small engagements, one might feel justified in supposing that he was in the same districts at the time, and even took part in some of the scenes of which he speaks.)

L, fol. 29a.

ذکر بقیّه احوال شاهزادگان و رفتن بجانب کیلان قبل از آنکه شاهزاده در آن معرکه شهید شد حسین بیگ لاله و دوده بیگ با بقیّه صوفیان و ابدال علی بیگ لکه در رکاب شاهزاده‌کان عالی و برادران کرامی یعنی خاقان صاحبقران کیتی ستان اسمعیل میرزا و سلطان ابراهیم میرزا متوجّه [خطّه]¹ مقدّسه اردبیل گردیدند و چون بآن مقام فرشته احترام رسیدند متعاقب خبر شهادت آن شاهزاده مرحوم مغفور رسید علم شاه بیگم از استماع این خبر محنت اثر و شهادت آن فرزند والا کهر بتعزیه و سوگواری پرداخته باوجود آن مصیبت عظمی این دغدغه در خاطر داشت که مبادا خاقان صاحبقران و برادر کرامی (او) سید ابراهیم [میرزا] بدست ظلمه گرفتار شوند هردورا بجانب روضه رضوان نشان جدّ بزرگوار شان فرستاد که (در) آن مکان شریف مخفی بوده در امان ملک متّان باشند و بعد از روانه نمودن ایشان بتعزیه فرزند ارجمند مشغول گردید روز دیگر ایبه سلطان و ترکمانان ستم‌کر از عقب

¹ (خطیره).

شاهزادگان بشهر در آمده دست ظلم و تعدی براهل اردبیل دراز کرده بقتل و غارت و تَفَحُّص شاهزادگان با سعادت پرداختند و حضرت خاقان صاحبقران از بیم اهل بغی و عدوان از آن آستان (با احترام)¹ بیرون آمده در حائۀ قاضی احمد کاکلی که در حوالی [آشیانه]² واقع و او یکی از یکجہستان این دودمان بود پنهان گردید و قاضی احمد از ورود آنحضرت مسرور گشته سر در قدمش نهاد و آن در یکتای برج شہرباریرا سه روز در خانہ³ خود پوشیده و پنهان نگاه داشت چون از تَفَحُّص و تجسس ترکمانان و تأکید ایبہ سلطان در پیدا نمودن آنحضرت قاضی مطلع گردید از بیم اهل غرض و تہمت صوفیکری و یکث جہتی این دودمان ولایت نشان (توہم نمود کہ مبدا ایبہ سلطان) از بودن شاهزادہ در خانہ او آگاہ شود آنحضرت را بخانہ عورتی کہ بخامجان موسوم بود [برده سپرد]⁴ مدت یکماہ در منزل او چون چشمہ آب حیوان از نظرہا مخفی بود بغیر از پاشا خاتون کہ از محدّرات بنات سلطان جنید و عمّہ محترّمہ مرشد کامل [کہ]⁵ در عقد ازدواج محمدی بیک ترکمان بود دیگری از حال آن شہربار اطلاعی نداشت بعد از یکماہ آن عقیقہ دوران از اهل جور ترسیدہ مصلحت (دران) دید کہ آنحضرت را از [30a] خانہ خامجان بیرون آورده بہ عورتی کہ اُبہ جَرّاحہ نام داشت و از قبیلہ ذولقدر بود سپارند چون بآبہ مشورت نمود

¹ [تایرام] ؟

² (آستانہ).

³ MS. L, خوانہ (!)

⁴ (فرستادہ و).

⁵ (و).

آن عقیقهٔ صالحه پاک اعتقاد آن اختر برج سعادت را در محلهٔ رومیان بخانهٔ خود آورد[ه] مخفی ساخت [و] چون ترکمانان بفرمان ایبه سلطان روز بروز تفحص و تجسس بیشتر (از پیستر) میکردند و محله بمحله و خانه بخانه میکردیدند و از جانب رستم میرزا تأکید بسیار در پیدا کردن شاهزاده‌گان کرامی نژاد میشد که بهر طریق (که) باشد مرشد کامل را بدست درآورده [آنحضرت را با] ذکور و اناث آن سلسله را بعد از بدست درآوردن آنحضرت از سر چشمهٔ تیغ ستم شربت شهادت چشانند و آن ظالم بد نهاد از خبث طینتی که داشت میخواست که علم شاه بیکم والدۀ آن حضرت را شکاجه نموده حضرت شاه عالی شانرا ازو گرفته آنچه مکنون خاطرش باشد بعمل آورد و علم شاه بیکم مطلق از احوال آنحضرت اطلاعی نداشت و روز بروز در مفارقت فرزند ارجمند بمرتبهٔ در دریای غم و الم فرو رفته بود که آن همه آزار و اضرار اشرار مطلقاً باو نمی نمود القصه ایبه سلطان را ازین نمود بعد از چند روز اُبّه از بودن آنحضرت در آنمکان (اندیشه نموده)¹ قرار داد که او را بمحل دیگر نقل نماید در آن حین شخصی از صوفیان و غازیان که در رکاب سلطانعلی پادشاه در حرب ایبه سلطان زخم دار گردیده فرار نموده (بود) و در مسجد جامع اردبیل مخفی گشته بود از برای علاج زخم خود [ب]نزد اُبّه جراحه آمد اُبّه او را از حال مرشد کامل خبر داد و شاهزاده را بدو نمود آن صوفی پاک اعتقاد سر در قدم آنحضرت نهاده از احوال صوفیان که در کوه بَغَر و (که در)

¹ [اندیشیده].

حوالی دارالارشاد اردبیل (است) مختفی و جویای استسعاد [306] ادراک خدمت (آنحضرت) بودند خبر داد و از آمجا بیرون آمده بمصلحت اُبّه جَرّاحه نزد رستم بیگ [قرامانلو] اندیشه باطل باز داشتند و آن مردود مطرود جماعت ترکمانان را فرمود¹ که غافل بخانه‌های جماعت اردبیل در آیند شاید که در خانه یکی از هوا خواهان آن سرور ریاض خلافت را بدست در آورند چون اُبّه جَرّاحه از (اهتمام ایبه سلطان درین باب)² آگاه گردید[ه] از بیم ضرر [ترکمانان] آنحضرت را بمسجد جامع اردبیل در کنبه‌ی که مقبره³ الله ویرمش آقا است برده محافظت نمود و در وقت فرصت از احوال کرامی آنحضرت علم شاه بیگم را خبر داد[ه]⁴ علم شاه بیگم از وصول این خبر بهجت اثر و سلامتی ذات مقدّس آن حضرت سجادات شکر نموده سلامتی وجود مسعود آن سلالة دودمان احسان وجود را [306] از درگاه آلهی سؤال که [او نیز از آن جنگ بیرون آمده در آن کوه اختفا کزیده بود رفته او را از حقیقت حال مرشد کامل آگاه ساخته و رستم بیگ مذکور] با هشتاد نفر صوفی که از جنگ فرار نموده در آن کوه جمعیت داشتند نیم شبی خود را بحوالی مسجد جامع اردبیل رسانیده شاهزاده را ملاقات نمود و آنحضرت را برداشته بجانب کوه بَغْرُورده در قریه کرکان بخانه خطیب فَرخ زاد کرکانی فرود آوردند و خطیب فَرخ زاد بوظایف خدمات لایقه اقدام نمود و منصور بیگ قباچخی و حسین بیگ

¹ (امر نمود).

² [آمال].

³ (و).

له¹ و قرق سیدی علی و جلبان بیگ و خادم بیگ خلیفه و دوده بیگ و کوک علی بیگ و سایر صوفیان در باب سگنا² و محافظت آن دژ یکتای بحر سلطنت و شهر یاری قرعه مشورت در میان انداختند رای همگی بر آن قرار گرفت که مرشد کامل را بجانب رشت برند و روزی چند در آنجا رحل اقامت انداخته با اجماع و فیصل امور ضروریه پردازند [31a] و چون میانه محمدی بیگ زوج پاشا خاتون که عمه محترمه آنحضرت بود و احمدی بیگ برادر او و امیره اسحق رشتی رابطه قدیم بود و پیوسته ابواب مصادقت بار سال رسل و اتحاف تحف مفتوح بود باین رای صواب اتفاق نموده رستم بیگ و احمدی بیگ و محمدی بیگ مرشد کامل را باهشتاد نفر از صوفیان عقیدت نشان برداشته بقصبه تول و ناو بخانه امیره³ مظفر والی تول و ناو آوردند و امیره⁴ مظفر کمر میزبانی و خدمتکاری بر میان جان بسته دقیقه از دقایق بندگی فرو گذاشت ننموده چون در اردبیل خبر بایمه سلطان رسید که آنحضرت در خانه امیره مظفر است کس پیش امیر زاده⁴ فرستاد که ولد سلطان حیدر پناه بتو آورده شرط اطاعت و انقیاد آنست که او را با رفقا⁵ و اعوان نزد رستم پادشاه با تحف و هدایا روانه نمایی تا آنکه از شفقت و لطف پادشاهی بهره مند گردی و اگر ازین امر تخلف نمایی و سرکشی کنی یقین که بغضب و سخط پادشاهی

1 (کله).

2 (سگنی).

3 (امیره).

4 (امیره مظفر).

5 (رفیقان).

کرفتار شوی و (جاکیر)¹ بیگ پرناک که حاکم خلخال و تول بود آن نیز کس فرستاده برین نهج اعلام نمود امیره مظفر از غایت اخلاص و اعتقادی که بدین دودمان ولایت نشان داشت راضی بشوقف مرشد کامل در تول ناو² نبود و خاطر از جانب جاکیر بیگ جمع نداشت بدین سبب آنحضرت را برفتن کسکر تکلیف نمود صوفیان باشاره امیره مظفر در رکاب حضرت شاهی با امیره انوش³ ملازم امیره سیاوش روی توجه بدانصوب آوردند و محمدی بیگ و احمدی بیگ از تول کتابات و سفارشات در باب جان فشانی در راه مرشد کامل بامیره اسحق رشتی [316] نوشته برشت فرستادند و خود بجانب اردبیل مراجعت نمودند و چون خبر قدوم مسرت لزوم آنحضرت در کسکر بامیره سیاوش حاکم آن ولایت رسید بمراسم تعظیم و تکریم پرداخته استقبال آن حضرت نمود و از روی اعزاز و احترام (شاهزاده را) در خانه خود فروز آورد تا سه روز بلوازم خدمتکاری قیام نموده روز چهارم در موکب عالی آن شهریار بجانب رشت روان گردیده تا حوالی رشت بدستور مهمان دار و خدمتکار بود چون داخل رشت شدند امیره سیاوش آنحضرت را وداع کرده مراجعت نمود مرشد کامل با صوفیان بمسجدی که واقعست در رشت و موسوم بمسجد سفیداست منزل کزیدند چون طرح و وضع آن مسجد آن حضرت را بسیار خوش آمد لهذا از آنجا بخانه امیره اسحق و جای دیگر نقل

¹ [جاکیر].² *Sie in MSS.*³ (نوش).

نفرمودند هر چند امیره اسحق در آن باب مبالغه نمود مفید نیفتاد در حوالی آن مسجد امیره نجم نامی دُکان زرگری داشت بنا بر قرب جوار پیوسته در خدمت آن حضرت می بود و بوسیله خدمات مرغوبه روز بروز مرتبه خود را می افزود اما در توقف آن حضرت در (بلده) رشت اختلاف نموده اند جمعی هفت روز گفته اند و بعضی بیست روز و گروهی یکماه چون کارکیا میرزا علی و الی لاهیجان از سایر سلاطین کیلان باعتلاء مکان و قدم دودمان مستثنی بود و از ورود آنحضرت برشت واقف گردید و دانست که از حوادث دوران از اردبیل بد آنصوب توجه فرموده اند و امیره اسحق را توانایی محافظت آنحضرت و صوفیان رفیق نیست بنابراین استدعا نمود که آن حضرت بجانب لاهیجان تشریف برند چون مرشد کامل رایحه اخلاص و هوا خاهی [32a] از جانب کارکیا میرزا علی استشمام نمودند اراده خاطر مبارک چنان تعلق گرفت که بلاهیجان رفته در آنجا باشند بلا توقف روانه لاهیجان گردیدند و کارکیا میرزا علی ازین [خبر بهجت اثر کلاه شادمانی]¹ بسپهر اعلی رسانید[ه] (و آنچه لازم خدمتکاری و اخلاص بود بتقدیم رسانیده) دقیقه [از بندگی] فرو گذاشت نکرد و جهت آن حضرت و متعلقان در برابر مدرسه کیا فریدون² منازل مرغوبه تعیین³ و ما یحتاج ایشانرا سرانجام نمود بعد از چند گاه ایبه سلطان از رفتن آنحضرت بصوب لاهیجان اطلاع یافته متوجه تبریز گردید و آن عورت مسمّاء ثابّه [جزّاحه] را بدست آورده باخود برد و احوالات

¹ (ازین بهجت و شادمانی سررفت).

² کی آفریدون.

³ (تعیین).

آن سفر را و توقف خود در اردبیل و کیفیت رفتن [شاهزادگان بجانب کیلان و امداد هریک از هواخواهان و توقف] شاهزاده را نزد کارکیا میرزا علی مشروحاً بعرض رستم میرزا رسانید نایره غضب رستم میرزا شعله ور گردیده آن ضعیفه صالحه را در میدان تبریز از کلو کشید و محمدی بیگ را مغضوب گردانید[ه] و ما یعرف ایشان را ضبط نمود آخر الامر بنا بر التماس قراوده جرم ایشانرا بسی هزار تنگه جریمه بخشید

ذکر توقف نمودن خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران در لاهیجان بعد از آنکه لاهیجان از قدوم میمنت لزوم آن حضرت رشک خلد برین کردید رحل اقامت و توقف در آن خطه دلپذیر انداختند و روز بروز اخلاص و یک دلی و جان فشانی کارکیا میرزا علی در تضاعف و تزاید بود و بهر نوع خدمت و مراعات خود را منظور نظر خجسته اثر خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران میساخت و مولانا شمس الدین لاهیجی را که از فضلی آن دیار بود بتعلیم تلاوت و قرأت قرآن مجید مقرر داشت و آنحضرت از روی [326] رغبت نزد مولانای مذکور درس قرآن و کتب فارسی و عربی میخوانند در خلال این حال ارباب ارادت و صوفیان یکجبهت از اطراف و جوانب خصوصاً دیار روم و قراجه داغ و آهر و غیر ذلک با نذر و نیاز در لاهیجان بخدمت مرشد کامل رسیده نذورات خود را بنظر کیمیا اثر در آورند چون مصلحت در توقف نبود در همان لحظه مراجعت می نمودند و امیر نجم زر که در رشت بخدمت آن حضرت رسیده بود با کیا سلطانحسین و کیا امیرهاشم برادران کارکیا

میرزا علی پیوسته بملازمت مرشد کامل آمد و شد می نمودند آنحضرت را از مخالطت و مجالست ایشان شکفتگی تمام در طبع همیون بهمرسید¹ بعد از چندگاه شاهزادگان² عظام سلطان ابراهیم میرزا و سلیمان میرزا اراده³ مراجعت بجانب دارالارشاد اردبیل فرمودند و تاج مبارک دوازده ترکی سلطان حیدر[ی] را که شعار صوفیان این دودمان خلافت و امامت است از سر بر گرفته بدستور تراکمه⁴ آق قوینلو طاقیه⁵ پرناکی برسر مبارک نهاده بصوب خطه⁶ فردوس نشان و روضه⁷ ملایک آشیان جد⁸ بزرگوار خود روانه گردیدند بعد از روانه شدن سلطان ابراهیم میرزا مزاج و هاج حضرت خاقان سلیمان نشان صاحبقران از جاده⁹ اعتدال روی بوادی¹⁰ الحراف آورده تا یکسال آن حضرت مریض و صاحب فراش بودند مولانا نعمت الله در علاج و دفع آن مرض سعی بلیغ نمود تا آنکه حکیم علی الاطلاق از شفاخانه¹¹ و نَزَلَ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ شَفَايَ عاجل کرامت فرموده ذات اقدس اعلی روی به بهبودی آورد و چون آن حضرت را بنان ریزه میل تمام بود وار عمه¹² محترمه¹³ خود پاشا خاتون [38a] طلب نموده بودند آن محذره سرادقات عصمت و عفت تبرکات با نان ریزه از اردبیل بخدمت آن حضرت ارسال داشت و احوال سلامتی ذات مقدس را پرسش نمود چون فرستادگان برشت رسیدند و خبر آمدن ایشان بسمع اشرف همیون رسید کوک علی را باستقبال ایشان فرستاد و فرستاده¹⁴

¹ (بهم می رسید).

² (شاهزادهگان).

³ (فرستادگان).

پاشا خاتون باتفاق میر نجم زرکرو میر حسن ولد میر موسی و امیر جهانگیر و کلاء¹ امیره اسحق رشتی با کوک علی روانه ملازمت کردیدند و بعد از دریافت شرف پابوس هدایا را با مکتوبات والده و برادران و همشیرکان و عمه آن حضرت بنظر انور رسانیده سجدهات شکر الهی بسبب سلامتی ذات اشرف بجای آوردند و آنحضرت مهمانداری بجهت ایشان تعیین فرمود از هدایای که آورده بودند بخشی از برای کارکیا میرزا علی و برادران او ارسال فرمودند بعد از سه روز آن جماعت را مرتخص ساخته تنسوقات لایقه از اقمشه و امتعه و مرغ مسمن و ماهی و برنج (و نارنج) و سایر ارمغان کیلان بجانب اردبیل روانه² گردانیدند چون آن جماعت بقریه³ گوریم از قرای اردبیل رسیدند خبر و صول ایشان بپاشا خاتون و محمدی بیگ رسید از اردبیل متوجه قریه مذکور شده آن تبرکات را برداشته بجانب دار السلطنه تبریز روانه شدند که شاید باین وسیله استرداد املاک و وجهات خود که بطریق صونک بتصرف رستم میرزا درآمده بود نمایند دیگر باره بقرا داده توشل جسته بوساطت او تحف و هدایاء خود را بنظر رستم میرزا در آوردند [336] و رستم میرزا آن هدایا را قبول کرده املاک و وجهات ایشانرا بایشان مسلم داشت و حکمی نوشته بایشان داد که من بعد احدی متعرض احوال ایشان نشود و محمدی⁴ بیگ را بخلعت خاص اختصاص نموده رخصت مراجعت داد

¹ MS. C, وکلاء (!)

² (روان).

³ (گوریم).

⁴ MSS. have not می.

ذکر کس فرستادن رستم میرزا نزد کارکیا میرزا علی بلاهیجان بطلب خاقان صاحبقران

سابقا مرقوم کردید که ایبه سلطان ترکمان و حسین بیگ علیخانی بعد از رفتن حضرت خاقان صاحبقران بجانب کیلان به تبریز رفته کیفیت احوال را بحوی که مرقوم قلم وقایع نگار شد [برستم]¹ میرزا رسانیدند بنابراین رستم میرزا کس بطلب شاهزادگان² صفوت مکان نزد کارکیا میرزا علی والی لاهیجان فرستاد و چون فرستاده او بلاهیجان رسید کارکیا میرزا علی شاهزاده کانرا³ بقریه⁴ گشته نام که نزدیک لاهیجان است فرستاده آن دُر بحر ولایت را مانند آب حیوان که از نظرها [پنهانست] مختفی⁵ ساخت ملازم رستم میرزا را کارکیا میرزا علی معاذیر دلیذیر گفته روانه تبریز کردانید و شاهزادگانرا از قریه مذکور بمنزل دل آویز خود باز آورده بدستور در آن منزل بهشت آیین بقراءت قرآن مجید و تعلیم خواندن و نوشتن مشغول گشتند چون آن ترکمان نزد رستم میرزا رسید عذرهای (عاقلانۀ کارکیا میرزا علی را معروض داشت و آن بد کهر مکرراً مجالس کنکاش ترتیب داده جهت بدست آوردن آن شاهزادگان والا تبار گفتگوی نمودند تا آنکه قرار [بان] دادند که جمعی از ترکمانانرا [با] برسم جاسوسی در لباس و کسوت صوفیان سلسلۀ صفوی باطراف فرستادند که احوال ایشانرا [34a] تحقیق

¹ (برخی رسم).

² (شاهزادگان).

³ (شاهزادگانرا).

⁴ (لشعه زشا).

⁵ (مخفی).

نموده اعلام نمایند که شاید تدبیری جهت بدست آوردن آن حضرت
توانند نمود بنابر آن رستم میرزا و حسین بیگ علیخانی چند نفر
جاسوس تعیین کرده باطراف فرستادند و آن جاسوسان در اطراف
ایران میکشند راه جاسوسی بلاهیجان افتاد بهر کیلکی که میرسید
احوال شاهزادگانرا می پرسید و اظهار مریدئ اولاد شیخ صفی میکرد
تا روزی کیلکی گفت اگر راست میگوئی و از جمله هوا داران اولاد
شیخ صفی [خودرا] به خدمت کار کیا میرزا علی که پادشاه
لاهیجان است [برسان]¹ و اظهار دوستی ایشان بکن شاید او ترا
رخصت بدهد تا تو بشرف دیدار آن شاهزادگان مشرف شوی
چون آن کیلک صادق ساده لوح از بی عقلی نشان شاهزادگانرا
داد آن ترکمانان² بدکمان دیگر در کیلان توقف نکرده خودرا
باردبیل رسانید[ند] و علیخانی سلطانرا از آن مقدمه اعلام نموده
هماندم کس همراه آن جسیس³ بدنفس کرده بخدمت رستم
پادشاه روانه گردانید چون رستم پادشاه دانست که ایشان در
لاهیجان میباشند بامرای خود صلاح دید که مراجعه باید کرد
تا دشمنان خودرا بدست آورم و خاطر خودرا از خروج ایشان
جمع گردانم هرکس سخنی گفتند ایبه سلطان گفت ای شهریار
مرا فکری بخاطر رسیده که پادشاه لاهیجان با شما دوست و یک
رنکست شاهزادگانرا⁴ بمجّرد شنیدن این (خبر) با [آن] چند نفر
صوفی که با ایشان رفیقند⁴ بخدمت خواهد فرستاد یا شما را اعلام

¹ (برو).

² Both MSS. read *خنیس*.

³ (شاهزادهگانرا).

⁴ (رفته اند).

نموده شما کس فرستاد^(۱) ایشانرا می آورید و اگر او نیز لاف مریدی ایشان میزند و هر دو را پنهان کرده است (فکری دیگر کنیم) میباید نامه باو نوشت و در نامه [34b] قید کرد که (چون) بعضی از بی دولتان مرا اغوا نمودند و فریب دادند که آنچنان جوانی را که صلّه رحم و شجاع و سپه سالار لشکر من بود از پا در آوردم و الحال کسی [ندانم]^۱ که اعتبار باو توانم کرد تا او را بزرگ سازم که با ستظار آن احدی کوس مخالفت مرا نکوبد چون کار سلطانعلی پادشاه (از قضا) اینچنین شد میخواهم برادران او را که هر دو مرا بمنزلّه فرزندند^۲ از برای من بفرستی که بفرزندی خود برداشته تربیت پدرانه نمایم که پشت و پناه من بوده باشند تلافی خون برادر و پدران ایشان نیز شده باشد شنیده‌ام که تو ایشانرا عزّت نموده و نسبت بایشان کمال مردی و همراهی بعمل آورد^(۳) بسیار خوب کرده زیرا که ایشان از خانواده عزّت و کرامت اند و آنچه نسبت بملازمان ایشان کرده ثواب آن در عقبی بتو عاید خواهد شد و ما نیز در تلافی آنچه لازمه مهربانی بوده باشد خواهیم نمود و اگر جمعی از صوفیان و هواخواهان مضایقه درین باب داشته باشند ایشانرا بموعظه و پند راضی نموده برفاقت ایشان تکلیف آمدن بدین صوب^۳ نمایند که انشاء الله تعالی تدارک همگی باحسن وجهی خواهد شد

نامه فرستادن رستم پادشاه بکارکیا میرزا علی بکیلان و طلب نمودن شاهزادگان

^۱ (ندارم).

^۲ (فرزند مانند).

^۳ (باینصوب).

اما چون نامه رستم پادشاه بکیلان رسید کارکیا میرزا علی اظهار شادمانی نموده بحسب ظاهر بسیار مشعوف گردید و با قورچی که نامه را آورده بود گفت که من از ایشان خبر ندارم شاید که در کیلان باشند من تفحص نمایم تو چند روزی از رنج راه آسوده شو [35a] من آنچه لازمه تفحص باشد خواهم کرد و خاطر جمع دار و او را به یکی از ملازمان سُپرد که میهماندار او باشد و خود بخدمت آن حضرت شتافت و صوفیان و هوا خواهان را طلب کرد و نامه را بایشان نمود حسن بیگ له له¹ و خادم بیگ خلیفه و ده ده بیگ گفتند ای خداوند شمارا چه بخاطر میرسد کارکیا میرزا علی گفت من خوشحال شدم که رستم میرزا این قسم نامه نوشته باشد ایشان گفتند هیئات تو صادقی رستم پادشاه از روی مکر این نامه را نوشته زنهار مقرر مشو و (در) جواب بنویس که مرا آن طالع نبود که آن دو مشتری اوج اقبال از برج اُلکای من (چون نیر اعظم) طالع شوند بسر عزیز پادشاه قسم که فرزندان سلطان حیدر نزد من نیستند و می توانم گفت که در کیلان [هم] نباشند زیرا که اگر بکیلان آمده باشند نمیشود که مرا اعلام نکنند و پادشاه خاطر از من جمع دارد که دشمنان آن شهریار را نزد خود راه نمیدهم زینهار که این راز را پوشیده دار و اظهار این امر مکن که عاقبت پشیمان خواهی شد چون صوفیان این سخن گفتند کارکیا میرزا علی قبول نمود و جواب نامه [قورچی نوشته] قورچی را روانه کردانید چون جواب نامه برستم پادشاه رسید گفت البته کارکیا میرزا علی

(لله).

راست میگوید و او از شاهزادگان خبری ندارد و آنچه گفته بودند همه دروغ بود دیگر باره معاندان رستم پادشاه را خبر دادند که فرزندان سلطان حیدر در کیلان اند یقین که کارکیا میرزا علی خبر دارد پس باردیگر نامه^[۴] نوشت و تهدید بسیار در نامه یاد کرد که چرا حق مرا منظور نداشته [356] دوشمنان مرا نگاه داشته اگر ایشان را فرستادی در میان ما وتو دوستی خواهد بود و آکس بفرستم با سپاه بیحد تا بیایند و کیلان (را) و لاهیجان را بسوزانند و قتل عام نمایند البته البته چون نامه بتو میرسد می باید هردورا بکشی و اگر خواهی که در خون ایشان شریک نباشی هردورا (زنده) بخدمت ما روانه کنی که دیده انتظار در راهست چون نامه بکارکیا میرزا علی رسید بسیار ترسید و با جماعت خود صلاح دید که (چون) رستم پادشاه قسم یاد نموده که اگر ایشانرا نفرستی کیلانرا قتل عام میکنم ایشان گفتند صلاح در آنست که شاهزاد[ه] هارا بدهیم تا به برند ایشان خود دانند خویش یکدیگرند پس کارکیا میرزا علی گفت هرچند فکر میکنم یقین میدانم که (رستم میرزا) بلا توقف ایشانرا بقتل می آورد و من چگونه در خون آن بزرگواران معین و شریک باشم پس فکر کنان بحرم خود رفت و در این اندیشه بود که شاهزاده را چگونه بفرستادگان رستم [پادشاه]¹ دهد چون بخواب رقت دید که حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام پیدا شده گفت ای کارکیا [میرزا علی] درچه فکری زینهار که با فرزندانم اینقسم ادایی نکنی که فردای قیامت نزد من شرمنده

¹ (میرزا).

خواهی بود و او از آن هیبت بخود بلرزید و از آن لرزه از خواب بیدار شد بر خاسته بخدمت اسمعیل میرزا (آمد و خواست)¹ که دست و پای او را ببوسد شاید که حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام از تقصیرش بگذرد چون بحوالی (مکان) آن شاهزاده رسید و آن موضعی بود در عقب حرمش که آنحضرت را جای داده بود و در جنب آن جایی از برای صوفیان [36a] معین کرده بود و کنیزی چند در خدمت آن شهریار تعیین نموده بود چون [در]² عقب در آمد دید که شاهزاده با شخص سخن میکوید کوش انداخت شنید که شاهزاده میکوید فدایت شوم ای شهریار کنیزی بمن گفت که کویا نامه از رستم پادشاه رسیده و مبالغه بسیار در خواستن من نموده و کارکیا میرزا علی میخواهد مرا فردا بدست ملازمان رستم پادشاه سپارد چون این بگفت و لمحه دیگر شد گفت فدایت شوم وقت خروج من شده [است] چون کارکیا میرزا علی این سخن بشنید آواز داد و گفت ای فرزند در را بکشای شاهزاده در خواب بود بیدار شد و فریاد زد که چه کسی گفت منم فلان شاهزاده فرمود چه عجب درین نصف شب تصدیع کشیده کجا بوده آیا آمده که مرا گرفته بدست ملازمان رستم پادشاه سپاری گفت قربانت شوم آن روز مبادا که این کار بکنم شما بگوئید که با که سخن میگفتید که هر چند نظر کردم در این خانه کسی نبود شاهزاده گفت با حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام دو سخن بودم و آنچه شنیده بود بگفت کارکیا میرزا علی گفت قربانت

¹ [Lacuna].² (پ).

شوم حضرت امیر المؤمنین الحال نزد من بود و در عالم رؤیا سفارش شمارا بمن کرده الحال آمده‌ام که پای شمارا بموسم تا مرا بجل کنید شاهزاده اورا حلال نموده روز دیگر کارکیا میرزا علی مبارکاه خود (آمده) نشست و در آن روز ایلچی رستم پادشاه را طلبیده گفت برو و دعای مارا برستم پادشاه برسان و بگو دروغ بسمع شما رسانیده اند از سلسله حسن پادشاه چه بدی بها رسیده که دشمنان ایشانرا جای داده محافظت نمائیم¹ اگر (تا) صد سال دیگر [خبری] ظاهر شود که ما خبری از اولاد سلطان حیدر داشته باشیم مجرم و کناه کاریم [36b] و مبلغی با یلچی تکلف نموده اورا روانه نمود آن شخص چون بخدمت رستم پادشاه رسید و آنچه شنیده بود عرض کرد که کارکیا میرزا علی قسمها یاد نمود که از اولاد سلطان حیدر اطلاع ندارم و بعزت نوازشی که در لاهیجان نسبت باو بعمل آمده بود رستم پادشاهرا ازین اراده باز آورد دیگر باره یکی از اقوام کارکیا میرزا علی آمده خود برستم پادشاه عرض نمود که اولاد سلطان حیدر نزد کارکیا میرزا علیست و او خبر دارد آتش در نهاد رستم پادشاه افتاده سیصد قورچی ترکمان را مقرر نمود که بروید اسمعیل میرزا و ابراهیم میرزا را از کارکیا میرزا علی گرفته بیاورید و اگر ایشانرا ندهد و بی اندامی کند در آنجا توقف نموده مرا اعلام کنید و قاسم بیگ ترکمان که از جماعت قراقیونلو بود [اورا فرستاد و] باین خدمت مأور گردانید چون او بلاهیجان رسید و داخل بارکاه کارکیا میرزا علی شد و نامه رستم پادشاهرا داد چون مطالعه نمود [نوشته

(نمائیم).¹

بود] که چرا مارا از خود میرجانی پسران سلطامحیدر را بقاسم خان بسپار و اگر نه خود می آیم و گُل کیلانرا قتل عامّ میکنم کارکیا میرزا علی از خواندن نامه بسیار دلگیر شده گفت شاید که در زمین کیلان باشند من تفحص کنم و فرمود قاسم بیگ را فرود آوردند و کارکیا میرزا علی بسیار دلگیر شده بود و حجاب میکرد که بشاهزاده اینواقعہ را اعلام نماید اما چون آن سخن بحسین بیگ لہ^۱ و خلیفۃ الخلفا و ابدال بیگ دہدہ رسید [37a] کہ رستم پادشاه قاسم بیگ را بگرفتن شما و شاهزادہ^۲ فرستادہ است ایشان گفتند امر از خدامی عالمست چون شب شد دیگر بارہ کارکیا میرزا علی حضرت امیر المؤمنین [علی] علیہ السّلام را بخواب دید کہ آن حضرت فرمودند کہ بعد از چند روز دیگر میباید قاسم بیگ را ببارگاہ خود طلب کنی و بکوچی کہ چند نفر را تعین نمودم کہ خانہ بخانہ ودہ بدہ کردیدند اولاد سلطامحیدر درین ملک نیستند اگر باور نداری من قسم یاد نمایم کہ ایشان در زمین کیلان نیستند و می باید کہ قبل از قسم یاد نمودن بر درختی ریسمانی بہ بندی و زنبیلی در آن رسیمان بسته از درخت در آویزی و شاهزادہ را در آن زنبیل بنشانی و در حضور فرستادہای رستم پادشاه [دست بقرآن] قسم یاد کنی کہ ایشان در زمین کیلان نیستند [کہ] تا قسم تو دروغ نباشد چون حضرت امیر المؤمنین (علیہ السّلام) اورا چنین ارشاد فرمود بعد از چند روز دیگر کارکیا میرزا علی ببارگاہ خود آمد و قاسم بیگ را طلبیدہ آنچه حضرت امیر المؤمنین

^۱ (لکّہ).

^۲ (شاهزادہا).

علی علیه السّلام فرموده بود آنچه‌ان کرد و ایشانرا بخدمت رستم میرزا روانه نمود چون رستم میرزا دید که بآمد و رفت رسولان و امرای ترکمان بجانب لاهیجان کارکیا میرزا علی پای از دایرهٔ اخلاص و جان فشانی بیرون نکذاشته بهیچ وجه بودن شاهزادگان و صوفیانرا در ملک کیلان اقرار نمیکند رای ناقص او بدین قرار یافت که سپاه عظیم بدانصوب روانه نماید که بقهر و غلبه ایشانرا بدست آورند درین اندیشهٔ باطل بود که حق سبحانه و تعالی بنی اعمامرا [376] بفکر استیصال یکدیگر انداخت و چندان فتور باحوال سلاطین ترکمان راه یافت که بمؤذای *اَللّٰهُمَّ اشْغَلِ الظّٰلِمِیْنَ بِالظّٰلِمِیْنَ* بهم دیگر در افتادند که بمخاصمت غیری نتوانستند پرداخت بدین سبب صوفیان و مریدان بخاطر جمع بخدمت آن حضرت تردد می نمودند بعضی بعد از دریافت پایبوس مراجعت و برخی توقف در کیلان نمودند و باستصواب کارکیا میرزا علی حضرت خاقان سلیمانشان صاحبقران را بدستور آباء عظام و اجداد کرام برسریر هدایت و ارشاد متمکن ساخته باوجود صغر سنّ که در آن وقت هفت سال بیش از عمر شریفش نگذشته بود اما در فطانت و فراست آیتی [بود و] در فهم و کیاست علامتی¹ فروغ کیتی ستانی از ناصیهٔ همایونش هویدا و فترهٔ ایزدی از جبین میبینش پیدا بود و ملازمان اخلاص کیش از فرط اعتقاد آن حضرت را مرشد کامل و پادشاه میخواندند و در آن بلدهٔ مینومثال نشوونما می یافت و گاهی بنشاط شکار و سیر متنزهات آندیار مشغول بوده

¹ C. places *بود* here.

پیوسته نقش جهانگیری و خیال کشورکشایی در لوح خاطر مبارک
می نکاشت تا هنگام وزیدن نسیم ظهور و خروج آنحضرت و بیرون
آمدن از آن ولایت باین امر نشاط افزا مشغول بودند و کیفیت
خروج آنحضرت بعد از انقراض [دولت ترکمانان و سلاطین] آق
قویونلو ذکر خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی

Translation :—

FURTHER ADVENTURES OF THE PRINCES, AND THEIR
JOURNEY INTO GILĀN.

Before the death of the Prince in the (above-mentioned) battle, Husain Beg Lala and Dede Beg, together with the remainder of the Šūfis and Abdāl 'Alī Beg Lala, had set out in the escort of the princely brothers, that is to say Isma'īl Mirzā and Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, towards the holy town of Ardabil. On reaching this town news overtook them of the death of the Prince. 'Alam Shāh Begum was overwhelmed with grief at hearing of her son's death, and her mind was filled with anxiety lest Isma'īl and Ibrāhīm might fall into the tyrant's hands. She therefore sent them both to the mausoleum of their noble ancestor, that they might, in that holy spot, under God's care, remain in hiding. As soon as they had departed she performed the funeral rites of her dear son.

On the next day Abiya Sultān and the merciless Turkomāns entered the town in search of the Princes. They used the inhabitants with violence, and busied themselves with plunder and rapine, and in searching for the Princes. Isma'īl, becoming fearful of these hostile men, came out of the mausoleum and hid himself in the house of Kāzī Aḥmad Kākulī, which was hard by. Kāzī Aḥmad, being devoted to the family [of Shaikh Safī], was delighted at the arrival of Isma'īl, did him all honour, and kept

him three days in hiding in his house. When he, however, heard of the careful search which the Turkomāns were making, and of Abiya Sultān's efforts to discover Isma'īl, he was fearful lest some of the envious or malicious Šūfis might report to Abiya Sultān that the Prince was in his house; he therefore took Isma'īl to the house of a woman named Khānjān, and entrusted him to her keeping. There Isma'īl remained one month, hidden like the spring of the water of life, from all eyes, except those of Pāshā Khātūn, one of Sultān Junaid's daughters, and aunt to Isma'īl¹ by her marriage with Moḥammadī Beg Turkomān. No one else knew of the Prince's whereabouts. When a month had elapsed Pāshā Khātūn, fearing the tyrants, deemed it advisable to take Isma'īl away from the house of Khānjān and place him in the keeping of another woman named Uba-i-Jarrāḥa,² of the tribe of Zūlkadr. After consulting with Uba, this latter conveyed Isma'īl to her house in the quarter of the Greeks, and hid him there. Meanwhile the Turkomāns, in obedience to the orders of Abiya Sultān, became each day more scrutinous in their spying and searching, passing from quarter to quarter, and from house to house. Rustem Mīrzā insisted more strongly than ever upon the discovery of the Princes, ordering that, having seized the "Perfect Guide" by whatsoever means they could, they should put him to death with the sword, together with all his race, both male and female. That tyrant, moreover, in the vileness of his natural clay, desired that 'Alam Shāh Begum, mother of Isma'īl, should be tortured, and that having taken the Prince from her, he might carry out his secret intention (namely, of killing the Prince). But she knew absolutely nothing about him, and so deep

¹ He is here called the "*Perfect Guide*": a very usual epithet for a spiritual head, or adviser, among the Šūfis.

² جراحه = the feminine form of *jarrāh* 'a surgeon' (which latter word is derived from the former through the intermediate form *chirurgien*). We might call this woman Uba the Lady-Surgeon (better in French and German, *chirurgienne* and *Wundärztin*). But, as the English expression is awkward, I have preferred to keep the original Arabic word in my translation.

was she sunk in the ocean of grief at separation from her dear son that all that pain and torture had no effect upon her. Abiya Sultān, therefore, abandoned this evil plan, and ordered that good-for-nothing band of Turkomāns impudently to enter the houses of all the "congregation of Ardabil," if haply they might capture Isma'il in the house of one of his supporters. When Uba-i-Jarrāḥa heard of this design of Abiya Sultān, fearing the violence of the Turkomāns, she brought Isma'il into the Great Mosque of Ardabil, where she watched over him in the vault which is the burial place of Allāh Virmish Ākā. While he was there, she took advantage of a suitable occasion to give 'Alam Shāh Begum news of her son. The Begum, overjoyed at hearing of her son's safety, laid her thanks before the throne of God, and prayed for his safe keeping. After a few days Uba, becoming unquiet for the Prince's safety in that place, resolved to take him elsewhere. At this juncture a Ṣūfī *ghāzī*, who had fled wounded from the battle between Sultān 'Alī and Abiya Sultān, and had hidden himself in the Great Mosque of Ardabil, while his wounds were healing, came to Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, who told him about Isma'il, and showed him to him. The Ṣūfī, having kissed the ground at the Prince's feet, told him of the Ṣūfis who were in hiding in the mountain of Baghrau, in the vicinity of Ardabil, and who were longing for the opportunity of serving Isma'il. He then, at the advice of Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, left the mosque, and went and gave news of Isma'il to Rustem Beg Karamānlū, who had also fled from the same battle-field and was hiding in that mountain, together with eighty other Ṣūfis, who had escaped from that encounter, and were collected together in that mountain. At midnight Rustem Beg betook himself to the Great Mosque of Ardabil, and having found Isma'il, carried him off to the mountain of Baghran, where he placed him in the village of Kargān, in the house of Farrukh Zād Kurkānī, the Preacher, who did him fitting service.

Manṣūr Beg Kipchākhī, Husain Beg Lala Kırk Sayyidi 'Alī, Julbān Beg, Khādim Beg Khalifa, Dede Beg, Kūk

'Alī Beg, and the rest of the Sūfīs now held council as to where Isma'īl had best stay and how he was best to be watched over. They all decided for taking Isma'īl to Rasht, after remaining a few days where they were for making the necessary arrangements. Now, friendly relations such as the continual exchange of messages and of gifts, had long existed between Moḥammadi Beg, husband of Pāshā Khātūn, Isma'īl's aunt, his brother Ahmadi Beg, and Amīra Ishāk of Rasht. Being of accord with the above plan, Rustem Beg, Ahmadi Beg, and Moḥammadi Beg, with an escort of eighty Sūfīs, conveyed the "Perfect Guide" into the district of Tūl-u-Nāv to the house of Amīra Muzaffar, governor of Tūl-u-Nāv. This man received Isma'īl with all hospitality, and omitted nothing in the matter of devoted attention and service.

When news reached Abiya Sultān, in Ardabīl, that Isma'īl was in the house of Amīra Muzaffar, he despatched a messenger to Amīra Muzaffar saying: "Sultān Haidar's son has sought shelter in your house, the conditions of obedience and subservience demand that you send him and his companions with presents and gifts to Rustem Pādishāh, so that you may profit by the indulgence and kindness of your king. But if you act contrary to this and disobey you will be subject to the wrath and severity of your king." He also sent a message of like purport to Jākīr Beg Parnāk, governor of Khalkhāl and Tūl. Amīra Muzaffar, in his devotion to that holy race, would not agree to Isma'īl remaining any longer in Tūl-u-Nāv, nor was his mind quite at rest with regard to Jakīr Beg. He therefore persuaded Isma'īl to go to Kaskar, and at his bidding the Sūfīs, together with Amīra Anūsh, a servant of Amīr Siyāvush, escorted Isma'īl towards that place. Moḥammadi Beg and Ahmadi Beg wrote letters of recommendation for Isma'īl to Amīra Ishāk of Rasht, and sent them to Rasht, while they themselves returned to Ardabīl. On learning the approach of Isma'īl, Amīra Siyāvush, governor of Kaskar, came out to receive him in honour, and made him alight in his own house, where he entertained him for three days,

and on the fourth set out with him on his way to Rasht. He escorted him as far as the outskirts of Rasht, but when Isma'īl entered the town he bade Isma'īl farewell and returned (to Kaskar). The "Perfect Guide" and the Ṣūfīs alighted at a mosque in Rasht called the "White Mosque," and its architecture and style pleased Isma'īl so well that he would not go on to the house of Amīra Ishāk or anywhere else. Even the entreaties of Amīra Ishāk himself were of no avail. Close to that mosque a goldsmith named Amīra Najm had his shop. Being so near at hand he spent much of his time in attendance on Isma'īl, and thereby daily increased his "grade." However, reports are at variance¹ with regard to the length of Isma'īl's stay in Rasht. Some state it to have been seven days, others twenty, and others again say a month.

Kārgiyā² Mīrzā 'Alī, governor of Lāhijān, formed an exception to the other rulers in Gīlān in his devotion to the cause (of the descendants of Shaikh Ṣūfī), and when he heard that Isma'īl, being compelled by circumstances to quit Ardabīl, had gone to Rasht, he, knowing that Amīra Ishāk was not in a position to protect Isma'īl and his Ṣūfī companions, invited Isma'īl to come to Lāhijān. On receipt of this friendly invitation from the devoted Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, Isma'īl decided to go and stay in Lāhijān. He therefore set out without delay. Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, elated at the joyful news of Isma'īl's arrival, rendered him every possible service, and having prepared everything to meet their wants, set apart for him and his companions a dwelling opposite the College of Kai Āfrīdūn. A short while after this, Sultān Abiya, having received news of Isma'īl's departure for Lāhijān, set out for Tabriz, and seized on the person of the woman named Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, and taking her (back with him) extorted from her the whole story in detail of Isma'īl's journey, his stay in Ardabīl, the

¹ This is worthy of note as an instance of our author's care for accuracy.

² Kārgiyā, or Giyā = emperor. It is said to be a Gīlāni word. We may here note that Mīrzā 'Alī is always given this title in our history, while the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar never applies it to him.

departure of the princes for Gilān, and the help afforded by each of the "supporters." This he reported to Rustem Mīrzā, who bursting into a fit of rage had that poor pious woman strangled in the market-place of Tabriz. He also poured out his wrath upon Moḥammadi Beg, and had the other accomplices arrested, but finally, at the request of Kārā Dede, pardoned them on the payment of a fine of thirty thousand tanga.

ISMA'IL'S STAY IN LĀHĪJĀN.

[Isma'il, having reached Lāhījān, took up his residence there, while Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī did all in his power to testify to his devotion and willing service.] He appointed Maulānā Shams-ud-Dīn Lāhījī, one of the learned men of that country, to instruct Isma'il in the reading and recitation of the Qurān. Isma'il took delight in the Maulānā's instruction, and with him studied the Qurān and learnt to read Persian and Arabic books. During this period disciples and single-minded Ṣūfīs flocked in from all sides, especially from the districts of Rūm, Kārāja Dāgh, and Ahar, bringing gifts and offerings for the "Perfect Guide"; but immediately returned, as it was not wise for them to remain there. Amīr Najm, the goldsmith, who had waited on Isma'il in Rasht, together with Giyā Sulṭān Husain and Giyā Amīr Hāshim, brothers of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, had frequent intercourse with Isma'il, and, from the converse and society of these men, Isma'il's mind became fully developed.

[After a while,¹ Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and Sulaimān Mīrzā formed a desire to return to Ardabil, and so having doffed the twelve-pointed cap of Haidar, which is the distinctive mark of the Ṣūfīs of this branch, and having donned the Parnākī head-dress (*tākiya*), as worn by the "White-Sheep" Turkomāns, they set out for the old residence of their great ancestor.] After the departure of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Isma'il fell ill, and was obliged

¹ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "after some months."

to keep to his bed for a whole year. Maulānā Ni'mat Ullah tried many remedies in vain, till at length the Absolute Physician sent down miraculous healing, and Isma'il began to recover. Having regained his appetite, he begged his aunt, Pāshā Khātīm, to send him some dainties [*nān-rīza*]. She thereupon sent him offerings with dainties from Ardabīl, and made enquiries after his health. When her messengers reached Rasht, Isma'il heard of their approach and sent out Kōk 'Alī to receive them. The messengers, accompanied by Mīr Najm, the goldsmith, Mīr Ḥasan, son of Mīr Mūsā, Amīr Jahāngīr, the *wakīls* of Amīra Ishāq Rashtī, were conducted into the presence of Isma'il by Kōk 'Alī. Having kissed the Prince's feet, and having delivered over the presents and letters from his mother, brothers, foster-brothers, and aunt, they expressed their gratitude to heaven for that they found Isma'il restored to health. The Prince then entertained them hospitably. He likewise set apart some of the presents to be given to Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī and his brothers. After three days the messengers were allowed to take their leave, and they set out for Ardabīl laden with suitable gifts, such as stuffs and merchandise, fattened birds, fish, rice, oranges, and other products of Gilān. When they reached a village of Ardabīl called Kuraim, Pāshā Khātūn and Moḥammadi Beg, who had heard of their arrival, came thither from Ardabīl, and having taken over from them the gifts they bore, set out for the capital, Tabriz, hoping that they might by this means obtain the restitution of their effects which had been confiscated¹ from them by Rustem Mīrzā. They again sought the mediation of Qarā Dede, who, by means of presents, obtained an audience with Rustem Mīrzā, who, accepting these presents, delivered over their effects, and wrote an order that from thenceforward no one should molest them. Having presented Moḥammadi Beg with a robe of honour, he allowed them to return.

¹ The expression used is بطریق صونک. I have been unable to find the word *gūng* in any dictionary. From the context it would appear to mean "confiscation," or something akin to it.

RUSTEM MĪRZĀ SENDS AN ENVOY TO KĀRGIYĀ MĪRZĀ IN
LĀHĪJĀN TO DEMAND THE PERSON OF ISMA'ĪL.

It was mentioned above that, after the Isma'īl's departure for Gīlān, Abiya Sultān, the Turkomān, and Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī went to Tabrīz. They there reported to Rustem Mīrzā the events that have been herein related. Thereupon Rustem Mīrzā sent to ask Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī to deliver up the Princes. On receiving this message Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī sent Isma'īl to a village near Lāhījān called Lashta, where he remained in hiding, and sent Rustem Mīrzā's envoy back to Tabrīz with flattering apologies. He then brought Isma'īl back to his own house, where the Prince spent his time in reading the Qurān, and in learning to read and write. On his return, the Turkomān laid before Rustem Mīrzā the cunning excuses of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī.

Rustem Mīrzā convened repeated assemblies to discuss the best means of capturing Isma'īl, until they finally decided that a party of Turkomāns should be sent out as spies disguised as Ṣafavī Ṣūfis, and report any news they might hear of the Prince's whereabouts, and thereby facilitate the capture of Isma'īl. Rustem Mīrzā and Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī therefore selected a few spies and sent them into the surrounding districts. These spies entered Īrān, and brought their spying into Lāhījān; of every Gīlānī¹ they met with they asked news of Isma'īl, and pretended to be disciples of the children of Shaikh Ṣafī, till at length one day a Gīlānī said to one of them: "If you speak true and really belong to the Ṣafavī Ṣūfis, go and present yourself before Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, King of Lāhījān, and tell him of your devotion to the Prince. Haply he will allow you to be honoured with a sight of the Prince. This ingenuous simpleton having thus, in his stupidity, given him a clue, the Turkoman stayed no longer in Gīlān, but went straight to Ardabīl and told 'Alī Khānī

¹ *Gileki* is the word used in the text; a curious *nisba*-formation from *Gīlān*. It is probably dialectic. *Gīlānī* is the more usual form.

Sultān what he had heard; this latter immediately sent on the spy to Rustem Pādishāh with an escort. When Rustem Pādishāh learnt that Isma'il was staying in Lāhijān he consulted his chiefs, saying: "What must I do to capture my enemies, and assure myself that Isma'il will not make a revolt?" Everyone had a suggestion to make, and Abiya Sultān said: "Oh! Prince, the thought has suggested itself to me that since the King of Lāhijān is your friend and ally, he would, at the mere hearing of your wishes, send to you the Princes and those Šūfīs who are in his company, or else, being directed by him where to find the Prince, you can send someone to fetch him. But if he make boast of his discipleship and keep them both in hiding, I should suggest another plan, namely, that you write him a letter, saying: 'Being misled and deceived by certain malicious men I put an end to that brave youth, who was a general in my army. At this present I know of no one whom I could confidently raise to power, and with whose help I shall fear opposition from no one. Since matters have turned out thus with Sultān 'Alī, I wish you to send me his two brothers, whom I regard as my own children in rank, that I may educate them as were I their father and be their guardian and protector. Moreover, compensation shall be made them for the blood of their father and brother. Now I have heard that you have shown honour to these two princes, and treated them with the utmost kindness and indulgence. You have done well in this, for they come of an honourable race, and whatsoever you have done for their attendants shall hereafter meet with its due reward. We, too, are desirous of performing the duties of hospitality to them.'"

RUSTEM PĀDISHĀH SENDS A LETTER TO KĀRGIYĀ MĪRZĀ 'ALĪ IN GĪLĀN REQUESTING HIM TO GIVE UP THE PRINCES.

Now when Rustem Pādishāh's letter reached Gīlān, Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, although he showed outward satis-

faction, was in reality much alarmed, and said to the Kūrchi,¹ who had brought the letter: "I know nothing of the princes; they may be in Gilān, and I will make enquiries. While you remain here a few days to recover from the fatigues of the journey, I will set on foot a diligent search; have no anxieties." He then entrusted the messenger to the care of one of his attendants, who should hospitably entertain him, while he himself hastened to Isma'īl, and, having called together the Sūfīs and "supporters," read them the letter. Husain Beg Lala, Khādim Beg Khalifa, and Dede Beg, said: "Oh! master, what do you think (in this matter)?" He replied: "I was well-pleased that Rustem Mīrzā should have written me such a letter as this." They rejoined: "Alas! that thou shouldst be so credulous; Rustem Mīrzā wrote this letter out of pure guile; God forbid that you should conform with it. Write in answer: 'I was not aware that those two stars had arisen in the constellation of my kingdom. I swear by the honoured head of the king that I have not with me the sons of Sultān Haidar, and I am also able to affirm that they are not even in Gilān; for had they come to Gilān it is impossible that they should not have announced their arrival to me. Let the king rest assured that I will not allow the enemies of that prince to come near me. Above all, keep this secret hidden, and do not make this matter public, or you will regret it afterwards.'" Kārgiyā Mīrzā, approving the suggestion of the Sūfīs, wrote the answer in this style, and sent the Kūrchi back again with it.

When the answer reached Rustem Pādishāh he said: "Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī certainly speaks truth, and has no news of the princes: what (the others) said was all lies." But a second time his agents² brought Rustem Pādishāh news that the sons of Sultān Haidar were in Gilān, and

¹ The *Kūrchi* were the descendants of the two thousand prisoners who were released by Timūr at the request of Safi-ud-Din, and among whom some lands round Ardabil were afterwards distributed. Hence were they such faithful supporters of the Šafavī dynasty. Cf. Chardin-Langlès, x, 188.

² lit. "refractory persons"—*mu'ānidān*.

that Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī was certainly aware of the fact. He therefore wrote another letter containing many threats: "Why have you played me false, and given shelter to my enemies? If you will send the princes there will be friendship between you and me, but if you refuse, I will send a countless army to come and utterly destroy Gilān and Lāhijān, and make a general massacre of their inhabitants. Verily, verily, as soon as you have received this letter you must put the princes to death; or, if you do not wish to be a party to taking their blood, you must send them to me, for I shall be watching for them."¹ Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī was very much alarmed at the receipt of this letter, and debated with his people what had best be done, since Rustem Pādishāh had sworn to make a general massacre in Gilān if he did not send the princes. They said: "The safest plan is that we give the princes over to them to carry away—they know they are related to one another."² But Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī replied: "The more I consider the matter the more convinced I feel that Rustem Mirza would speedily put them to death; and how can I help and encourage him in shedding the blood of these noble youths?" Thus pondering over the matter he retired to his *haram*, wondering all the while how he could possibly deliver the princes over to the envoys of Rustem. In his sleep he dreamed that the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī appeared to him and said: "Oh! Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī, why dost thou hesitate? Take care that thou dost not make so small a sacrifice for my son, that on the morrow of the Resurrection thou stand ashamed before me!" At this vision his whole frame shook, and the shaking awoke him from his sleep. He then arose and went to Isma'īl, in order to kiss his hands and feet, if haply 'Alī might overlook his shortcomings. Now he had given Ishma'īl a dwelling at the back of his *haram*, and at the side of it he had set apart a place for the Šūfis, while he had appointed some maidens to wait on Isma'īl. When he came

¹ lit. "the eye of expectancy is on the road."

² Sense not very clear.

round to the back he saw that the prince was talking with some person, and, leaning forward, he heard the prince say: "May I be thy ransom? Oh! prince. One of the maidens said to me that a letter was supposed to have come from Rustem Pādishāh, in which he made very urgent demands for me. And Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī will to-morrow deliver me into the hands of Rustem Pādishāh's envoys." Having said this, he paused, and then continued: "May I be thy ransom! The hour of my 'coming'¹ is at hand." When Kārgiyā Mīrzā heard these words he cried out and said: "Oh! son, open the door"; whereupon the prince, who was asleep, awoke, and called out, "Who art thou?" He replied: "I am such and such a prince." (Isma'īl) then said: "How strange a thing this is. Didst thou feel a headache in the middle of the night? Where hast thou been? Art thou come to seize me, and deliver me over to the servants of Rustem Pādishāh?" The other replied: "May I be thy ransom? May the day never come on which I should do such a thing! But tell me with whom you were just now speaking, for though I looked carefully I could perceive no one in this house." The prince replied: "I was conversing with 'Alī." He then related what he had heard. Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī said: "May I be thy ransom! His Holiness has just been with me, and, in the world of visions, recommended you to me. I am now come to kiss your feet, that you may forgive me." The prince then forgave him, and on the morrow Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī returned to his own palace. On that same day, seated (in his audience-room), he sent for the envoy of Rustem Pādishāh, and said to him: "Go now, present my salutations to Rustem Pādishāh, and say to him: 'Falsehoods have reached your ears; for what wrong have I experienced

¹ خروج. The word *khurūj*, which means literally "a coming out," is used throughout the beginning of this work to express the first appearance of Isma'īl to play his part in history. I can think of no better rendering into English than the word "coming," applied in like manner to King Arthur of the Round Table. The word "advent" might also suit were it not for the almost exclusively religious signification this word has acquired.

from the dynasty of Ḥasan Pādishāh that I should give a shelter to their enemies and protect them? If in the course of one hundred years it should transpire that I had any news of the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar, then am I guilty, and have committed a sin.'” Thereupon, having given the envoy a sum of money, he sent him away. This latter, on his return, laid before Rustem Pādishāh what he had heard, namely, that Kārgiyā Mīrzā had taken an oath that he knew nothing of the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar, and on account of the good treatment he had received in Lāhijān he deterred Rustem Pādishāh from his design. But yet another of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī's subjects came and personally represented to Rustem Pādishāh that the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar were with Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, who knew all about them. At this Rustem Pādishāh's anger was inflamed, and he despatched 300 Turkomān *qurchis*, saying: “Go, and take Isma'īl Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā from Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, and bring them back here. If he ill-advisedly refuse to give them up, remain there, and inform me of the fact.” Kāsim Beg Turkomān, one of the “Black Sheep,” was sent in command of this party. On his reaching Lāhijān, he entered the palace of Kārgiyā Mīrzā, and handed him Rustem Pādishāh's letter, which ran as follows: “Why do you thus provoke me? Hand over Sultān Ḥaidar's sons to Kāsim Khān. For if you refuse I will come myself and make a general massacre in Gīlān.” The perusal of this letter filled Kārgiyā Mīrzā with anxiety, and he said: “Perhaps they are in Gīlān; I will make a search.” He then invited Kāsim Beg to alight, but he was the while very anxious, and, withdrawing, went and reported the matter to the prince.

Now when Ḥusain Beg Lala, Khalif ul-Khulafā, and Abdāl Beg Dede heard that Rustem Pādishāh had sent to seize the Princes, they said: “The matter rests in the hands of God.” That night 'Alī again appeared to Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī in his sleep, and said to him: “After a few days interval you must summon Kāsim Beg to your palace, and say to him that you have sent men round from house

to house, and from door to door, but the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar are not in this kingdom, and then say: 'If you do not believe me, I will take an oath that they are not *in* the land of Gilān.' Now before taking your oath you must attach a rope to a tree, and to the rope you must fasten a basket, which must thus hang from the tree. In this basket you must place the Prince, and then in the presence of the envoys of Rustem Pādishāh, swear with your hand on the Qurān that Isma'īl is not *in* the land of Gilān. In this way your oath will not be false." A few days later, in accordance with the directions of the Commander of the Faithful, Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī entered his palace and summoned Kāsim Beg. He then having exactly carried out the instructions of the Prophet 'Alī, sent the envoys back to Rustem Mīrzā. This latter now understood by the sending of messengers and Turkomān chiefs to Lāhijān, Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī was in no way to be deterred from his unselfish devotion, or made to confess the presence of the Princes and Ṣūfis in his state; he, therefore, determined to send a powerful army into that land, which might with force and violence seize the Princes.

It was while he was engaged in such evil meditations that God filled the cousins¹ with a desire to exterminate one another, and so degenerate had the Turkomān Sulṭāns become that they fell upon one another, verifying the words: "By God, tyrants have to do with tyrants"; and were unable to occupy themselves with anything beyond their own mutual contentions. For this reason the Ṣūfis and disciples were able to enjoy free intercourse with Isma'īl, some returning immediately after their interview with him, others remaining in Gilān. Thus, with the approval of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, they firmly established Isma'īl, in the manner of his great fathers and ancestors, upon the throne of Religious Guidance. In spite of his tender years, for he was at that time but seven years of age, he was a model of intelligence, perspicacity, and sound

¹ Namely, Rustem Beg and Aḥmad Beg.

judgment, and his devoted followers, out of the abundance of their faith, called him "The Perfect Guide" and "Pādishāh." In that beautiful town¹ he grew up and developed. Sometimes he would participate in the pleasures of the chase, or visit the pleasant spots of that country; and he always showed signs of possessing a conqueror's genius. Thus pleasantly did he pass his time, until the hour arrived for him to come out of that country and appear (before the world). After we have spoken of the downfall of the Turkomāns and the extinction of the White Sheep, we will, God permitting, give an account of the "Coming" of Isma'īl.

Here follows the promised account of the "Downfall of the Turkomāns," of which, corresponding as it does to a large extent with the same episode in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, I give a translation only; at the same time showing throughout to what extent the two histories tally with one another.

RUSTEM PĀDISHĀH IS KILLED AND AḤMAD BEG MOUNTS THE THRONE OF ĪRĀN.²

It has been already mentioned that after the death of Sultān Ya'kūb, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, the Turkomān chiefs split up into two factions, the one supporting Bāisunḡar Mīrzā and the other Masīḡ Mīrzā, who was in Sultānlūi³ in Kārābāgh. The party of Bāisunḡar Mīrzā gaining the upper hand put Masīḡ Mīrzā to death. [Aḡmad Beg, son of Ughūrlū Moḡammad, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, escaping from that battle⁴ fled to Rūm, where

¹ = Ardabil.

² L, fol. 38a.

³ *sic.* in both MSS.

⁴ Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "from Kārābāgh."

Sultān İlderim Bāyazid, the Emperor, gave him one of his daughters in marriage ;] and he remained in Constantinople. In this year Hasan 'Alī Tarkhānī,¹ being enraged at the evil deeds of Rustem Mīrzā, went to Rūm and begged the Emperor to give him over Aḥmad Beg, declaring that there was no one in Īrān who would not welcome him as king. "If you will send an army with him, he will, in all probability, bring under his sway the kingdom that is his by right of inheritance." In answer to the appeal of Hasan 'Alī Tarkhānī the Emperor sent Aḥmad Beg into Dīār Bakr and [Azarbāijān with a regiment of Rūmīs.]² As soon as the rumour of their advance was spread about in the country of Azarbāijān, the Turkomān chiefs, turning traitors, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Ḥusain Beg 'Alī Khānī, having put to death in Sultāniyya, 'Abdulkarīm Beg Lala, one of Rustem Mīrzā's chiefs, read the *khutba* in the name of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mīrzā hearing of these things was dumbfounded, and set out from Tabriz with his chiefs and a large army to repel Aḥmad Beg. [The two forces met³ and fought a pitched battle on the banks of the river Aras. In the heat of the fight Abiya Sultān Turkomān, with a riotous band of deserters, broke the line of the army and went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mīrzā⁴ was thus caught in the claws of fate, and being taken prisoner was hamstrung at the order of Aḥmad Beg, who thus rid of his rival, entered Tabriz and established himself upon the throne.⁵] [He showed special favour to Ḥusain Beg 'Alī Khānī, and distinguished him with increase of dignity and rank. Ḥusain Beg, on account of

¹ Probably a variation of *Tarkhānī*. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says that it was merely "the desire to reconquer the country, which was his by right of inheritance," that prompted his leaving Rūm; and ignores this anecdote.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "and Turkomāns."

³ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "without either being aware of the other's movements."

⁴ L, fol. 38b.

⁵ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date of 902, and mentions that Rustem reigned six years. Kwāndamīr here begins a fresh chapter entitled "The Accession of Aḥmad Pādishāh to the throne of Azarbāijān, and his death at the hands of Abiya Sultān."

the enmity he had long cherished for Muzaffar Beg Parnāk, having drawn him into a quarrel, killed him with his sword. When Kāsim Beg Parnāk, Muzaffar's brother, heard of this in Shīrāz, where he was governor, he only waited his opportunity to avenge his brother's blood. At length Aḥmad Beg appointed Abiya Sulṭān governor of Kirmān, from which place Abiya Sulṭān sent a message to Kāsim Beg inciting him to revenge his brother's blood; and a compact was confirmed between the two Amīrs that they should together raise the flag of revolt from that quarter]. For this reason Abiya Sulṭān set out for the tomb of the mother of Sulaimān,¹ where he was met by Kāsim Beg. Here they put to death all the servants of Aḥmad Beg, who were with Kāsim Beg, and read the *khuṭba* in Abiya Sulṭān's name. They then decided to send for Sulṭān Murād, son of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, who was with his uncle Sulṭān Farrukh Yasār, in Shīrwān, and set him up as king; while the two Amīrs should be his prime ministers (*wakil*). They therefore sent an *'ahd-nāma* to Sulṭān Murād, in Shīrwān.² After this they began to violate the property of the inhabitants of that country and to extort large sums of money from the men. Then those two ill-starred ones together led a large force against Iṣfahān. And when Aḥmad Beg, in Tabrīz, heard of these doings he set out by forced marches with a powerful army to Iṣfahan to oppose them, and overtook them in Alang Kanīz and Khwāja Ḥasan Māzi.³ A party of the Turkomāns, deserting Abiya Sulṭān, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg, and Abiya Sulṭān, perceiving this, lost confidence and fled. Aḥmad Beg's men seeing the helplessness of the enemy left Aḥmad Beg and gave them chase, plundering as they went the baggage of Abiya

¹ *Mashād-i-mādari-Sulaimān*; this is no doubt a corruption of *maṣjīd-i-mādari-Sulaimān*, a name which the Persians still give to the tomb of Cyrus in the plain of Pasargadæ. Cf. Browne, "A Year among the Persians," and Ouseley, ii, 44 *et seq.*

² L, fol. 39a.

³ There seems to be some confusion here in the narrative. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar mentions only one encounter, namely in Kaniz Alang-i-Iṣfahān.

Sultān and Kāsim Beg. Abiya Sultān, recognizing his opportunity, charged down on Aḥmad Beg¹ and threw him from the saddle of glory on to the ground of humiliation, and cutting off his head stuck it on the end of his spear and sounded the horn of triumph. When the soldiers of Aḥmad Beg saw what had happened they turned in flight [while Abiya Sultān, crowned with victory, turned towards the town of Kum, where he read the *khutba* and had coins struck in the name of Sultān Murād.² He then sent a swift messenger to Shīrwān to fetch Sultān Murād, while he himself mounted the throne of Kum, and was waited on by the chiefs as a Sultān; and he busied himself daily with the settlement of important business pending the arrival of Sultān Murād.]

ABIYA SULTĀN IS KILLED AND IS SUCCEDED BY MOḤAMMADĪ PĀDISHĀH, WHO IS IN TURN KILLED AND SUCCEDED BY SULTĀN MURĀD IN 'IRĀQ, AND BY AMĪR ALWAND IN AZARBĀIJĀN.³

Aḥmad Beg, on account of his small stature and short legs and arms, had received from the Emperor Bāyazīd the nick-name of *Kadūcha*⁴ Aḥmad. [When he was killed the sons of Yūsuf Beg son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, Moḥammadī Beg, and Alwand Beg, who had accompanied him in that battle, now made off in opposite directions. Moḥammadī Beg went to Yazd, where the Governor, Murād Beg Bāyandarī, taking advantage of his arrival set him, together with Ashraf Beg, upon the throne. Alwand Beg went to Dīār Bakr] to Dāī Kāsim, Turkomān, who was [uncle

¹ The *Habīb-us-Siyar* says Aḥmad had reigned six months.

² The *Habīb-us-Siyar* adds: "who, since the death of his brother Bāisunḡar, had been living under the protection of Shīrwānshāh."

³ L, fol. 396.

⁴ This opening sentence is not in the *Habīb-us-Siyar*. *Kadūcha*, if the reading be correct, may mean "a little gourd" (*kadū*). MS. C reads *kūchik*, or "small," which is, perhaps, the more correct reading.

to Rustem Mīrzā and governor of Dīār Bakr]. Dāi Kāsim Beg set him likewise upon the throne. The two parties busied themselves with collecting troops and preparing for an expedition. Murād Beg Bāyandarī and Ashraf Beg, having amassed an army, set out under the command of Moḥammadi Pādishāh towards Shīrāz, whose Governor, Kāsim Beg Parnāk, came out with an army to offer him fight. After [the first] encounter Kāsim Beg turned in flight, and with great difficulty managed to throw himself into Šāin Kal'a. Meanwhile [Moḥammadi Pādishāh] having become master of the province of Fārs, appointed Manšūr Beg Afshār governor of Shīrāz, [and set out himself against 'Irāq, which, having conquered, he pitched his camp in Rai.]¹

[But Abiya Sultān, Turkomān, who had fixed his winter-quarters in the town of Kum at the beginning of the spring, set out for Tabrīz]. On the road he learned that Sultān Murād, son of Sultān Ya'qūb, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, having come out of Shīrwān was in the vicinity of Kārāja-Dāgh, where he had been joined by a number of the Turkomān chiefs, who were inciting him to war with (Abiya Sultān),² and that Sultān Murād was bent on killing (Abiya Sultān). This latter, on hearing this news, pushed forward to meet him, and an engagement took place in which he defeated Sultān Murād and made him prisoner, confining him in the castle of Rubandar. Sultān Murād's mother, the daughter of Sultān Khalīl Shīrwānshāh, he made his own wife. He then sent a messenger to Dāi Kāsīnī demanding (him to send) Alwand Mīrzā, son of Yūsuf Beg, whom he set upon the throne of Tabrīz. Then he and Dāi Kāsim with a large force under the leadership of Alwand Mīrzā [marched against Rai with the intention of seizing Moḥammadi Pādishāh. This latter, fearing the united forces of the Turkomāns, fled to Amīr Ḥusain Giyāi Chalāwī in Fīrūz

¹ Is Tīhrān here meant, or did the old town of Rai still exist?

² L, fol. 40a.

Kūh.¹ Abiya Sultān sent his own brother, Gūzel Aḥmad, with a number of Turkomān chiefs and an army to winter in Varāmīn,² while Kāsīm Beg Parnāk, who after the return of Moḥammadī Pādishāh from Sāin Qal'a had joined Abiya Sultān, was sent with a squadron of cavalry to Shīrāz. [He himself took up his winter-quarters] with Alwand Mirzā [in the town of Kūm]. [In the meanwhile, Moḥammadī Pādishāh, in conjunction with Amīr Ḥusain Giāyī Chalāwī,³ made an unexpected midnight attack on Gūzel Aḥmad in Varāmīn. He plundered all his baggage, and Gūzel Aḥmad fled "naked" to his brother in Kūm. Abiya Sultān, on hearing the sad news of the dispersion of the army, no longer thought fit to remain in the town of Kūm. He therefore in the depth of winter set out with Alwand Mirzā for Tabrīz].⁴

In the following passage of my translation I have chosen to give in a parallel column a translation of the corresponding passage in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar. The account which Khwāndamīr gives of the downfall of the Black and the White Sheep dynasties is not a very full or consecutive one,⁵ but our author tells us even less about them. Seeing that he obviously had independent sources of information for these events, it would appear that he, for preference, did not dwell upon the downfall of the Turkomāns.

¹ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "to Husain Giyā Jalābī in the castle of Astā."

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar reads: Varāmīn-i-Rai.

³ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "and Ashraf Beg."

⁴ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "and did not stop till he reached Ribāṭ-i-Dāng."

⁵ A straightforward account of the Ak-küyūnlus and the Karā-küyūnlus is to be found in the Naskh-i-Jahan-Arā of Ghaffārī. Cf. Rieu's Catalogue, pp. 111-115.

History of Shāh Isma'īl.

Moḥammadī Pādishāh, who was now sole master of 'Irāk, hastened after them by forced marches, and came upon them in Azīz Kandī.¹

A fierce contest ensued, in which victory finally decided for Moḥammadī Pādishāh; and Alwand Mīrzā was thus defeated. Abiya Sultān being slain, the world was freed from his evil doings.

Moḥammadī Pādishāh, having subdued the whole of Īrān, set himself upon the throne of Tabrīz. Alwand Mīrzā escaped with a small body of men to Dīār Bakr, where he was received by the Governor, Dāī Kāsim, and set upon the throne of Dīār Bakr.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar.

Moḥammadī having met with all success in the province of Rai, many of the Amīrs of 'Irāk offered him submission and acknowledged his sovereignty. He set out with a large army against Abiya Sultān. This latter, accompanied by Sultān Murād, went to meet him, and the opposing armies met in Azīz Kanīti (?). Without waiting to rest from their march, they immediately engaged. Moḥammadī was assisted by special divine favour, while Sultān Abiya was thrown upon the ground of destruction. Sultān Murād, accompanied by Guzel Aḥmad, fled towards Shīrāz, while Moḥammadī made a triumphant entry into Tabrīz, where he mounted the throne.

BEGINNING OF ALWAND'S
REIGN, AND END OF MO-
HAMMADĪ MĪRZĀ.

When Amīrzāda Alwand came to Dīār Bakr, after the battle of Kanīz Alang, Kāsim Beg conferred on him the title of king. But Kāsim Beg

¹ L, fol. 40b.

*History of Shāh Isma'īl.**The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar.*

Meanwhile Alwand Mirzā marched on Tabriz with a well-equipped army; and Moḥammadī Pādishāh, hearing of his brother's advance and of the alliance of the forces, fled from Tabriz to Sultāniyya;

while Alwand Mirzā entered Tabriz and mounted its throne, appointing Laṭīf Beg Turkomān, his *wakīl*.

exercised absolute direction in state affairs, so that not merely did the rest of the nobles have no voice in the government, but even the king was powerless. So arrogant and assuming was he that Alwand Mirzā became disgusted with him, and one night, together with many of the nobles, who shared his feelings, he got away from Kāsim Beg and went to Azarbāijān. When Moḥammadī heard of his brother's advance at the head of a brave army, thinking he could not oppose him, he hastened to Sultāniyya.

Alwand Mirzā entering Azarbāijān without (even the hindrance of) the exchange of messages, raised the banner of sovereignty, appointing Khwāja Sābiḳ-ud-Dīn his vizier and Luṭf Beg his *wakīl*.

While he was considering how to deal with his brother, news reached him that Sultān Murād, son of Sultān Yaḳūb, had escaped from the castle of Rubandar.

For Gūzel Aḥmad, when his brother, Abiya Sultān, was killed, fled from the battle-field, and, together with Farrukh Shāh Beg Bāyandar, went to the castle of Rubandar, where they brought Sultān Murād out of prison; and thence all three proceeded to Shīrāz. Now Kāsim Beg Parnāk, who before that battle in which Abiya Sultān was killed, had

started out with a squadron of horse for Shīrāz, and in an encounter in Shūlistān¹ in Fārs, was defeated and taken prisoner by the governor of that district. But as they passed near Iṣṭakhr, he contrived to escape, and shut himself up in that fortress. When he heard of the approach of Sultān Murād and Gūzel Aḥmad, he came out of the fortress and joined them, giving them many goods and effects which he had taken from the inhabitants of Shīrāz.² They all now proceeded together to Shīrāz, and Manṣūr Beg Afshār, deeming resistance useless, fled.³

Sultān Murād, having entered Shīrāz, busied himself with preparations for a military expedition. Having established perfect order in Shīrāz, he appointed Kāsim Beg Parnāk to the governorship, and then set out with a powerful force for Iṣfahān. When Moḥammadi Pādishāh, in Sultāniyya, heard of this, he marched out with the chiefs of the 'Irāk frontier towards Iṣfahān, where he heard that Sultān Murād was advancing from Fārs. He thereupon hastened out to meet him, and in the summer-quarters [called] Khwāja Ḥasan Māzī, the approximation of the two hosts concluded in a hand to hand engagement. After the ranks had been drawn up in parallel lines, Pīrī Beg Afshār charged down with a regiment of brave men upon Kāsim Beg Parnāk, and carried all before him, while Kāsim Beg fled, thus throwing confusion into the midst of Sultān Murād's army. Sultān Murād's banner fell to the ground, but such was the valour of his heroes that they raised it and again flocked round it, and this army which had (just) been scattered in disorder, now reassembled under the shadow of that standard. They now perceived that Moḥammadi Pādishāh was standing without his army, alone at the foot of (his) standard; whereupon Sultān Murād, sallying from his ambushade, charged down upon him, and

¹ The reading is doubtful. It may be a corruption of Shulghistān, which is near Abāda.

² *Garmsirāt-i-Shīrāz*, that is, those portions of the district of Shīrāz which lie in the hot climate (*garmsir*). The Arabic plural in *āt* being, as is so frequently the case, attached to the Persian word.

³ L, fol. 41a.

his chiefs, being unable to resist this onset, fled, while Moḥammadī Pādishāh, Pīr Beg Afshār, and Ashraf Beg were killed.¹ The chiefs, in the utmost confusion, fled in various directions. Pīr 'Alī Beg and Pīr Moḥammad Beg fled to Sāwa and Ḳum. Pīr Moḥammad Beg stayed in Ḳum. Ḳanāk Beg in Kāshān and Pīr 'Alī Beg in Sāwa raised the flag of revolt.

Sultān Murād, having won this victory, entered Isfahān, but hearing of the insurrection of the Turkomān chiefs set out to that district at the head of 50,000 horse and foot men. After much military parleying those men gave themselves up without striking a blow.² Sultān Murād now marched against Sultāniyya.³ [Amīr Alwand Mīrzā, being informed of Sultān Murād's movements, set out from Tabriz to oppose him with the chiefs of Azarbāijān and a large army. But while the two armies lay encamped] near about Abhar⁴ [there came a certain pious darwish named Bābā Khair Ullah] who dwelt in Abhar⁵ [and spoke to the two kings]. He had received intimation from the hidden world that there would shortly come out of Gilān a person who would increase the dignity and honour of the Religion of Moḥammad, establish the Faith in the Twelve Imāms, and restore law and order in the land of Īrān. [On this account he entreated the two kings to come to terms, and a peace was concluded under the stipulation that the river Ḳizil Ūzūn should form the boundary between their respective kingdoms. Āzarbāijān,] Mughān⁶ [Arrān, and Diār Bakr were to belong to Amīr

¹ There is some inconsistency in the narrative here, for the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar clearly states that after this victory Sultān Murād took Moḥammadī with him as a prisoner to Sultāniyya. Khwāndamīr also gives in the following passage some further details with regard to Pīr 'Alī Beg and Bairām Beg.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar differs considerably in this place. Its authors tells us that several small encounters took place, but as none of them proved decisive for either side, a peace was at length made with the following conditions: That Abdāl Beg Pīr 'Alī should quit Sāwa and enter the service of Sultān Murād, who, having abandoned the siege, should appoint Pīr 'Alī Beg as Governor of Sāwa. On the same day that Abdāl Beg entered Murād's service he migrated from Sāwa to Azarbāijān.

³ L, 416.

⁴ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says Šāin Kalā instead of Abhar.

⁵ Detail omitted by Khwāndamīr.

⁶ Khwāndamīr omits Mughān from the list.

Alwand, while Sultān Murād was to govern the states of 'Irāk, Fārs, and Kirmān. After the ratification of this treaty, Amīr Alwand returned to Tabriz and Sultān Murād to Kāzwin.] Many of the Afshār and Turkomān chiefs, who had revolted, now came to Sultān Murād and begged his forgiveness. Some he punished¹ and others he re-appointed governors or amīrs.²

The chapters now succeeding, apart from telling us much about Isma'īl that we cannot learn from the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, have a special interest of their own, for Dede Moḥammad's story, whatever may be its historical value, is of sufficient curiosity to merit reproduction. I therefore subjoin the full text and translation of this my last extract:—

[MS. L, fol. 41b.]

ذکر نظر یافتن خاقان صاحبقران شاه اسمعیل بهادر خان
ورخصت خروج یافتن از حضرت صاحب الزمان علیه صلوات
الله الملک العنان

چون خبر انقلاب در ممالک ایران و طغیان امرای ترکمان
بسمع خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران رسید اراده نمود که از
لاهیجان توجّه بدار الارشاد اردبیل نمایند و از ارواح مقدّسه آباء
کرام و اجداد عظام [42a] استمداد نموده کلزار دین و دولت را از
خس و خاشاک ارباب طغیان و عناد پاک سازند این اراده را

¹ *ba yāsā rasānidan*, means to try (and condemn) a person by the code called *yāsā*, which is said to have been instituted by Chingis Khān. See *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1882, and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 22, note.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar here adds: At this juncture Sultān Murād was informed that Kāsim Beg Parnāk, Governor of Shirwān, was planning a revolt. (Murād) therefore set out from Kāzwin with a strong force and marched into Fārs. And when Kāsim Parnāk heard of his approach, feeling he was not strong enough to resist, he came out to meet Murād in Kāsr-i-Zard, and, begging his forgiveness, expressed his repentance. All his chiefs were seized by Sultān Murād, who then hastened to Kārzūn, where he spent the winter.

بازمره از مریدان و صوفیان اظهار نمودند ملازمان جاه و جلال دانستند که خروج آن حضرت نزدیک شده است کمر اطاعت و جان فشانی را بر میان جان بسته امیدوار شدند آن قدوه دودمان ولایت و امامت یکی از اهل اخلاص را جهت رخصت طلبیدن نزد کارکیا میرزا علی فرستاد و او از عزم نهضت همیوت کارکیا میرزا علی را خبر داد¹ مشار الیه از صغر سن و قلت اعوان و انصار آنحضرت اندیشید[ه] زیرا که در آن وقت از عمر شریفش دوازده سال بیش نگذشته بود و کثرت و عظمت مخالفان و اهل طغیان زیاده از حد و حصر بود بنابراین آنحضرت را رخصت بیرون آمدن از آن ولایت نمیداد و می گفت وقت خروج نیست و انسب آنست که یکچندی دیگر توقف نمایند که بصواب اقربست آن صوفی فدوی بازگشته التماس کارکیا میرزا علی را بعرض خاقان (سلیمان‌نشان) صاحبقران رسانید آنحضرت بنابر التماس مشار الیه قدری توقف نموده² بعد از روزی چند بنفس نفیس با کارکیا میرزا علی ملاقات فرمودند و بزبان الهام بیان در باب عزیمت اردبیل و بیرون آمدن از لاهیجان اظهار نمودند کارکیا میرزا علی دیگر باره التماس فسخ آن عزیمت نمود آن حضرت راضی نشد لاعلاج کارکیا میرزا علی بفکر بعضی از اسباب ضروری پرداخت و آن حضرت روز دیگر باجمعی از ارباب عقیدت بعزم شکار سوار شده در حوالی لشته نشا بکنار بیشه پردرختی رسیدند و از نهر آبی که در آن حوالی بود عبور نموده بصوفیان رفیق فرمودند که

¹ (دادند).

² (فرموده).

احدی ازین نهر آب متعاقب من عبور ننماید و در کنار این نهر منتظر مراجعت من بوده باشید و آنحضرت داخل آن بیشه کردید و دیگر کسی از ارباب عقیدت را خبری از آنحضرت نبود تا از آن بیشه بیرون آمدند و آنچه در باب کمر بسته شدن و از بیشه بیرون آمدن آنحضرت باشمشیری که حمایل نموده و علامتی چند (که صوفیان مشاهده نمودند) از تقریر ده ده محمد [426] روملو که از صوفیان و درویشان صاحب حال اروم ایلی بود در سنه سبع و تسعمایه در میدان صاحب آباد تبریز بشرف پایبوس [مرشد کامل] مشرف¹ شد و دیدن آن حضرت را در بیابان مکه در مجلس حضرت صاحب الزمان علیه السلام که مرقوم میکرد ظاهر خواهد شد

شرح حالات ده ده محمد و آنچه در سفر مکه معظمه مشاهده نمود

ده ده محمد یکی از درویشان پاک اعتقاد و از مریدان حسن خلیفه تکلو که در میان تکه ایلی و اروم ایلی سکنی داشت بود و حسن خلیفه یکی از مخلصان و مریدان پاک اعتقاد این دودمان ولایت و کرامت بود یک نوبت بخدمت حضرت سلطان مجید رسید [ه] و دو نوبت بخدمت سلطانحیدر مشرف شد و آن حضرت او را بچله خانه با چهل نفر از صوفیان فرستاد و هریک از ایشانرا یک کوزه آب و قرصی نان همراه کرد تا (در) مدت چله بآقدر غذا قناعت کنند بعد از انقضای مدت از

(اشرف) ¹

چله خانه بیرون آمدند رفقای حسن خلیفه توشه خود را بکار برده بودند الا او که آنچه برده بود بخدمت آنحضرت آورد مرشد کامل او را رخصت داده روانه ولایت تکه ایلی گردانید و آنحضرت او را وعده در باب ظهور و خروج حضرت خاقان و سلیمان شان صاحبقران فرمودند و چون بمیان ایل مذکور رسید ازو کشف و (کرامات)¹ بسیار مشاهده میشد مکرر اصحاب طریقت را از وعده خروج آنحضرت آگاه می نمود و در هنگام ارتحال پسر خود بابا شاه قلی را که او نیز صاحب کشف و (کرامات)² بود بر مسند طریقت جای داد ابلقی باو سپرده گفت که در سنه سبع و تسعمایه مرشد ما در تبریز بر تخت سلطنت ایران جلوس خواهد نمود این امانت آن شهیار است باسلام من باو برسان بابا شاه قلی منتظر وقت می بود تا در سنه خمس و تسعمایه ده ده محمد که مرید خلیفه بود اراده (زیارت) مگه معظمه نمود و از بابا شاه قلی رخصت دریافت این توفیق طلبید ده ده³ شاه قلی گفت رخصت است برو اما چون از زیارت مگه فارغ میشوی اراده زیارت عتبات خواهی کرد و از آنجانب بدار السلطنه تبریز خواهی رفت روز اول که داخل تبریز خواهی شد در آنروز از اولاد طیبین و طاهرین صاحب خروجی بهمرسیده خواهد بود [43a] پادشاه شده و سگه و خطبه بنام خود زده و خوانده و در میدان تبریز آن شهیار را در چوکان بازی خواهی دید میروی و سلام من بآنسرور میرسانی و این ابلقی را

¹ [کرامت].

² [کرامت].

³ Both MSS. read ده ده, but بابا is obviously the correct reading.

میدهی که بر سر تاج خود بند کرداند پس دهده محمد قبول نموده آن امانت را گرفته و بجانب مگه معظمه روانشد بعد از طواف مگه معظمه و زیارت مدینه مشرفه متوجه بغداد شد (در ما بین مدینه باتسکینه و دار السّلم بغداد از قافله جدا افتاده خوابش در ربود وقتی که دیده کشود دید که از قافله اثری نمانده بود مدت سه روز بقوّت حال و درویشی در آن صحرا راه میرفت تا کار برو تنگ گردیده افتاد و زبان از گام او بیرون آمد و (از تشنگی) دل بر مرکّ نهاد چون آفتاب بر بالای سراسر است استاد دید که از برابرش جوان عربی سواره در رسیده و گفت ای درویش بر خیز که بآبادانی نزدیک رسیده¹ آن (درویش اشاره کرد که قوّت رقتن بمن نمانده است) پس آن جوان دست او را گرفته چون دست درویش بدست آن جوان رسید قوّت (تمام در خود) مشامده (کرد برخاست² و در رکاب) او متوجه پشته شد (چون بفراز پشته)³ برآمد نظر کرد دید که در آن طرف تا چشم کار میکند سبزه و کل و لاله در آن صحراست و خیمه های زربفت و (سایبانهای) اطلس بر سر پای کرده اند گفت ای جوان عرب اینقسم جای در صحرای مگه و نجف اشرف هرگز کسی [ندیده و] نشان نداده این چه مکانست و صاحب این خرگاه و بارگاه کیست آن جوان عرب گفت خواهی دانست و درویش در جلو او میرفت تا ببارگاهی رسید که قبّه اش با آفتاب و ماه برابری میکرد چون داخل شد

¹ I have added the hamza here.

² MS. C. برخواست.

³ MS. L. has a large hole at the top of this folio.

طَرَنَه جایی بنظر در آورد که هرگز چنان جایی ندیده بود کرسیهای زرین در پهلوی یکدیگر چیده و شخصی بر بالای کرسی نشسته بود و نقابی بر روی خود انداخته داده محمد دست بر سینه نهاده سلام [داد]¹ و دعا کرد پس صدای جواب سلام از آن نقاب دار شنید و گفت ای درویش بنشین پس فرمود تا طعامی جبهه او آوردند که در جمیع عمر خود مثل آن اطعمه ندیده و آبی سردی نیز آوردند [و]² داده محمد [نوشید که] هرگز آبی بآن کواری نمیخورد بود [43b] چون از خوردن فارغ شد دید (که) جمعی آمدند و پسری [را] آوردند تخمینا در سن چهارده سالگی سرخ موی سفید روی میش چشم و تاج سرخی بر سر داشت چون داخل شد سلام داده ایستاد آن جوان نقاب دار گفت ای اسماعیل الحال وقت شده [44a] که خروج کنی گفت امر از حضرتست آن شهریار فرمود (ند) که پیش بیا او پیش رفت آنحضرت کمرش را گرفته سه مرتبه او را ازجا برداشت و باز بر زمین گذاشت³ و بدست مبارک خود کمرش را بست و تاج را از سرش برداشت و باز بر سرش نهاد و کمر خنجر گردی در کمر آن سرپود آنحضرت برداشت و در پیش درویش انداخت و گفت این را نگاه دار که بکارتو خواهد⁴ آمد و شمشیری آن حضرت از ملازمان خود طلبیده بدست مبارک بر کمرش بست و فرمود برو که رخصتست فاتحه خواند (ند) و او را بآن دوسه نفری که او را آورده بودند سپرد چون

¹ (کرد).

² (که).

³ (گذاشته).

⁴ خواهد.

آن جوانرا بردند همان عربرا اشاره کرده که درویش را بقافله برسان و او درویش را آورد و گفت آن قافله ایست که ازو جدا مانده بودی چون دوده محمد قافله را دید گفت ای جوان بعزت خداترا قسم میدهم که آنسرور که بود و آن جوان چه کس بود گفت ای درویش هنوز ندانستی که آن شهریار که دیدی حضرت صاحب الزمان (علیه السلام) بود چون دوده محمد نام صاحب الامر علیه السلام را شنید ایستاد و گفت [ای جوان] بعزت خدا(که) مرا برگردان تا یکبار دیگر بیای بوس آنحضرت برسم و خیری^۱ از آنحضرت طلب کنم بلکه نوعی شود که در خدمت آن شهریار بوده باشم آن جوان گفت دیگر نمیشود می بایست مرتبه اول حاجت خودرا بطلبی دیگر برگردیدن ممکن نیست هر جا که خواهی حاجت بخواه که حضرت صاحب الامر در همه جا حاضر است حاجت ترا روا میکند و درویش رفت که برگردد دیگر سوار را ندیده بر فراز پشته برآمد هر چند نگاه کرد علامت آن کلشن و سرافرده و غیره ندید آه از نهادش برآمده دید که قافله دور شد لاعلاج خودرا بقافله رسانید و تتمه حکایب دوده محمد روملو و رسیدن او بخدمت خاقان سلیمان شان (صاحبقران) کیتی ستان در تبریز در طی وقایع سنه سبع و تسعمائة قلمی خواهد شد

بیرون آمدن خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران شاه اسماعیل بهادر خان از آن بیشه و روانه شدن باهفت نفر از صوفیان

(چیزی).^۱

چون صوفیان بموجب فرمان. واجب الاذعان خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران [44b] در کنار نهر آب حوالی بیشه توقف نموده منتظر قدوم میمنت لزوم آن حضرت بودند قریب بدو ساعت شد که اثری از آنحضرت ظاهر نکردید صوفیان را ازین واقعه (اضطرابی)¹ دست داده متفکر احوال خجسته مآل آن شهریار بودند و هیچ یکت بنابر فرمان آنحضرت از نهر آب عبور ننموده بجانب بیشه نمیتوانستند رفت که مبادا مخلف در امر مرشد واقع شود در آن اثنا چشم صوفیان بر جمال مبارک آنحضرت افتاد که از میان بیشه شمشیری بر کمر بسته بی کمر خنجر باصلابت تمام بیرون آمدند صوفیان از مشاهده آمثال سردر قدم آن شهریار گذاشتند و از بیم سطوت و هیبت احدی از ایشان جرأت تفتیش آن علامات از آنحضرت نتوانستند نمود و همگی باتفاق مرشد کامل آمده مجلس کنکاش برآراسته با صوفیان اخلاص کیش گفتگو کردند که از کدام راه متوجه مقصد شوند قرار رفت که از راه طارم بخطه دلپذیر اردبیل شتابند در آن حین کارکیا میرزا علی با بعضی از اسباب ضروری سفر بخدمت آن حضرت رسیده بار دیگر زبان التماس برآورد در باب توقف آن حضرت مبالغه نموده بدرجه قبول رسید لا جرم مشارالیه بمشایعت آنحضرت عازم شد و در ساعت سعد آنحضرت پای دولت در رکاب سعادت در آوردند (و) از لاهیجان روی توجه بصوب ارجوان نهادند و کارکیا میرزا علی (با جمعی از ارباب اخلاص تا دو فرسخ در موکب عالی)

[اضطراب].¹

مشایعت آنحضرت نموده مرشد کاملرا در ضمان امان ملک
 مثنان روانه مقصد گردانید و خود مراجعت بقلعه لاهیجان نمود
 خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران از آن مکان باهفت نفر از صوفیان
 مثل حسین بیگ له له¹ وابدال علی بیگ دوده و خادم بیگ
 خلیفه ورستم بیگ قرامانلو و بیرام بیگ قرامانلو و الیاس بیگ
 ایغوث اغلی و قراییری بیگ قاجار عنان عزیمت بصوب دیلمان
 انعطاف داده در دیلمان نزول اجلال فرمودند و از دیلمان بجانب
 طارم بحرکت در آمدند در عرض راه ارباب جلالت و صوفیان
 پاک طینت از روی عقیدت در هر منزلی از منازل از طوایف
 روم و شام بموگب عالی می پیوستند چون طارم (محل) نزول
 موگب آنحضرت کردید [45a] بسان عساکر ظفر مآثر پرداخته
 موازی یک هزار پانصد نفر از صوفیان فدوی بنظر انور در آمدند که
 ملازم رکاب نصرت انتساب بودند و چون خاطر مبارک از جانب
 امیر [ه] حسام الدین جمع نبود و همیشه مذکور میشد که او راه
 خلاف و عناد باین دودمان ولایت نشان می پیماید ازینجهت
 آنحضرت از طارم عازم خلخال شدند و در قریه برندق نزول
 فرمودند روز دیگر بمزرعه شاملو که بشام قزل اوزن اشتہار دارد
 شتافتند چون بموقف عرض رسانیدند که در مزرعه مذکوره² خبر بوزه
 بسیار شیرین دلپسند بهم میرسد و آنحضرترا میل تمام بخربوزه
 بود بنابراین در آن مزرعه چند روز توقف نمودند شیخ قاسم در
 آنمنزل بلوازم خدمت و ضیافت پرداخته ضیافتی نمود که ما فوق

¹ (لکه).

² (مزرعه).

قُوّت و قدرت بَشَر نَبُود و آنمقدار تکلف که کرده (بود) بآن راضی نشده چهل کوسفند بغیر طعام بریان کرده بود بمیان آورد بعد از چندروز خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران از آن مزرعه کوچ فرموده در قریّه نساز خلخال نزول فرمودند و از قریّه نساز بقریه کویتی خلخال آمده در خانه ملک مظفر توقاچی سلطان شهید سعید سلطانعلی پادشاه که بخلفا مشهور بود نزول اجلال واقع شد و تا مدت یکماه در خانه خلفا توقف نموده بعد از مدت اقامت روی توجه بقریه حَقْظاباد اردبیل آوردند و از آنجا بقریه آلاروق شتافته از قریّه مذکوره با جهان جهان آرزو عالم اشتیاق متوجه خطّه فردوس بنیان و روضه جنت نشان جدّ بزرگوار خود سلطان الاولیا و برهان الاصفیا سلطان الحقیقه و الطریقه شیخ صفی الدین اسحق قدس سرّه گردیدند و بطواف مرقد منور مشایخ عظام و اولیاء کرام مستسعد شده در آنمقام فرشته احترام که محلّ اجابت دعای انامست دست دعا بدرگاه قاضی الحاجات برآوردند و از برای فتح و نصرت براعدای دین و دولت جبین عجز و نیاز بر زمین حاجت سوده از بخشندۀ بی مَدّت و کریم بی ظنّت مطلبی که داشتند مسئلت میفرمودند چون انوار قبول بر ضمیر منیر [45b] فیض تأثیر پرتو انداخت روی نیاز از زمین مراد برداشته بمنزل هلیون رجعت فرمودند و در آن زمان سلطانعلی بیگ چاکرلو ترکمان که از جانب امیرالوند میرزا حاکم اردبیل و مغانات¹ کس نزد آنحضرت فرستاد که در اردبیل توقف نمودن شما

[معاناب] !

مناسب نیست میباید ازین ولایت بجان دیگر تشریف شریف
 ارزانی دارید یا اینکه آمادهٔ قتال و جدال بوده باشید چون در آن
 وقت [از]¹ قلت ملازمان موکب عالی و کثرت اعدا مصلحت در
 منازعه و مناقشه نمیدیدند لهذا از خطهٔ طیبهٔ اردبیل کوچ کرده
 بقریهٔ میرمی توجه نمودند قشلاق نمودن خاقان سلیمان شان
 صاحبقران در ارجوان محمدی بیگ زوج پاشا خاتون که بشرف
 پایبوس مشرف گشته بود بمعرضی عرضی رسانید[ه] که اگر نهضت
 همیون از برای قشلاق و جمعیت اعوان و انصار بصوب طوالش²
 واقع شود بصواب اقرب خواهد بود آن حضرت قبول فرمودند
 و محمدی بیگ چون (با میرزا محمد)³ سلطان رابطهٔ قدیم داشت
 نزد او فرستادند و محمدی بیگ بعد از رسیدن بآستارا نزد میرزا
 محمدی سلطان رفته او را بدلائل نصیحت آمیز بجاذهٔ اخلاص
 و جان فشانی باز آورد چون میرزا محمد سلطان بخت بلند
 و دولت ارجمند داشت از استماع این خبر بهجت اثر و ورود
 موکب ظفر پیکر بدامحدود بلا توقف باتفاق محمدی بیگ
 و صنادید طوالش اقبال مثال با استقبال موکب همیون فال
 شتافتند چون بشرف پایبوس مرشد کامل مشرف شدند بذروهٔ
 عرض رسانیدند که ایندیار تعلق بملازمان عالی دارد چنانچه در
 خاطر خطیر شهریار کشورگیر قشلاق نمودن درین دیار خطور نموده
 باشد بسیار بجا و موافق مطلب این بندهٔ دولتخواه است که چند

¹ (بنابر).² [طالشی].³ [Lacuna].

روزی کمر بندگی و خدمتکاری بر میان [46a] جان بسته بلوازم
 جان سپاری پردازد حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران بنابر
 التماس او در قریه ارجوان من اعمال آستارا نزول اجلال فرمودند
 و میرزا محمد سلطان بنوعی در رضا جوئی خاطر مبارک اشرف
 اعلی و بندگی اولیای دولت ابد پیوند کوشید که زبانها باحسین
 و آفرینش گویا شدند و اکثر [ی] اوقات مرشد کامل بشکار ماهی
 میل نموده بآن امر اشتغال داشتند و میرزا محمد سلطان والدۀ
 [خود را با چند نفر از کنیزان بخدمت و پرستاری آنحضرت مأمور
 ساخته خود متوجه مکان] خود کردید و همیشه آرزوی دریافت
 ملازمت می نمود چون خبر توجه مرشد کامل بجانب طولش
 بسطان علی بیگ چاکرلو رسید شرح احوالاترا در عریضه درج نموده
 نزد امیرالوند میرزا به تبریز فرستاد و امیرالوند میرزا از استماع این
 خبر سراسیمه گشته مقرر نمود که چون میانه تو و میرزا محمد
 رابطه و اتحاد قدیمست بهر نوع که توانی او را نمخالفت و قصد
 آنحضرت ترغیب نما و آن ناپاک بعد از فکر و اندیشه بسیار کس
 نزد والدۀ میرزا محمد سلطان فرستاد و او را بوعدهای جمیله
 فریفت که در بارۀ آن حضرت کیدی اندیشد و آن کس ناقص بی
 عقل فریب و عده [امیر] الوند میرزا را خورده سلطان علی بیگ
 چاکرلورا اعلام نمود که چون حضرت خاقان سلیمانشان صاحبقران
 هر روز بشکار ماهی مشغولند آنحضرت را بدریا اندازند و با امیر
 حمزه طالش که راتق و فاتق مهمات دیوانی میرزا محمد طالش
 بود اتفاق نموده منتظر فرصت می بودند و میرزا محمد سلطان را

ازین معنی اطلاعی نبود نهایت از حرکات آن دو مفسد تاپاکت [466] اطلاع یافته والدۀ خود را منع و زجر نمود و امیر حمزۀ طالش را اهانت و آزار بسیار نمود و پیوسته در اخفای این معنی میکوشید و امیر آقایی کیلانی ازین مقدمه واقف شده خود را نزد لاله¹ بیگ و خادم بیگ رسانیده از غدر آن دو [نابکار]² و تلاش میرزا محمد سلطان در اخفای³ این راز بایشان خبر داد لاله بیگ و خادم بیگ بی تاب شده این مقدمه را بمعرض عرض مرشد کامل رسانیدند میرزا محمد سلطان از اطلاع حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران بر این مقدمه آگاه شده سراسیمه بدرگاه معلی شتافت و در حضور مرشد کامل قسم یاد نمود که مرا مطلقاً ازین اراده خبر نبود چون مطلع شدم والدۀ خود را زجر و منع کردم چون مضمون قسم میرزا محمد سلطان بصدق مقرون بود صورت قبول آن بر آینه جهان نمائی مرشد کامل و صوفیان صافی ضمیر چهره نمود (بیت) هر آن سخن که بود مقترن بصدق و صواب * بود حقیقت آن نزد هر کسی ظاهر * و بعضی این حکایت را بدین نوع نقل کرده اند که محمدی بیگ برادر احمدی بیگ در آن تاریخ نزد میرزا محمد سلطان می بود و امیر الوند میرزا کس نزد میرزا محمد سلطان و محمدی بیگ فرستاده ایشانرا بایالت اردبیل و خلخال وعده داد بشرط آنکه حضرت خاقان سلیمان [شان] را گرفته نزد او فرستند میرزا محمد درین باب متفکر بود که

¹ (لله).

² (بدکار).

³ (خفای).

دست از کدام یک ازین دو دولت بردارد محمدی بیک از فکر و تأمل او اندیشیده با او گفتگو نمود که بوعده فریب آمیز امیر الوند دست از دولت دنیا و آخرت نتوان برداشت و خاک ادبار و خیانت بتکلیف ارباب حقد [47a] وحسد بر فرق روزگار خود نباید انباشت که تا انقراض عالم این بدنامی در میانه طایفه طالش خواهد بود و آنچه تقدیر شده غیر آن نخواهد شد و دیگر در غیرت¹ طالش کی روا باشد که از برای حکومت دنیای دون مرتکب این امر شنیع کردی [بیت] هر که در کارها بد اندیشد * روی نیکی دگر کجابیند * هر که شاخ مضرتی کارد * میوه منفعت کجا چیند * و میرزا محمد سلطان از سخنان سودمند [دلپسند]² محمدی بیک بفکر عاقبت خود افتاده آن اراده را بسلکویه از خاطر بیرون کرد در خلال ایحال سلطان فرخ یسار که شیروان³ شاه بود کس نزد میرزا محمد سلطان فرستاد که هزار تومان نقد از برای تو میفرستم که خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران را گرفته نزد من فرستی میرزا محمد سلطان چون چند روز بود که بملازمت آن حضرت نرسیده بود مکتوب شیروانشاهرا⁴ برداشته با جمعی کثیر از مردم طالش روی بدرگاه فلک پیش گاه آورد پیش از رسیدن او خبر بمشرد کامل از حقیقت مکتوب فرستادن شیروانشاه⁵ و آمدن میرزا محمد سلطان با جمعیت و ازدحام تمام رسید امرای دولت و صوفیان صافی طینت مثل حسین بیک لاله و خادم بیک خلیفه

¹ P doubtful reading.

² (دلبد).

³ (شروان).

و بیرام بیگ قرا مانلو و ابدال علی بیگ دوده و الیاس بیگ از استماع اینخبر بدمظنه شدند که مبارا از میرزا محمد سلطان نسبت بذات اقدس ضرری رسد از روی احتیاط مقرر شد که ملازمان موکب عالی زره در زیر قباها بیوشند و همگی مسلح کشته حاضر یراق باشند اگر میرزا محمد و مردم او (در مقام)¹ خلاف باشند [476] صوفیان نیز از چپ و راست آجماعت در آمده بضرب شمشیر خونریز دمار از روزگار ارباب عناد بر آورند² و اگر مراد در یافت سعادت پایبوس مرشد کامل باشد این احتیاط قصوری نخواهد داشت پس بموجب اشاره امرا و ارباب طریقت مکمل و مسلح کشته ثریا مثال آنحضرت را در میان گرفتند درین اثنا میرزا محمد سلطان با مردم خود نزدیک معسکر همیون رسید خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران خادم بیگ دوده بیگ باستقبال او فرستادند که بنظر احتیاط ملاحظه احوال مشار الیه نمایند و نقود اندیشه او را بر محک امتحان زده آنچه بر دیده حقیقت بین ایشان در آید بموقف عرض رسانند چون میرزا محمد سلطان ارکان دولت قاهره را از دور دید از سمند جلالت بزیر آمده (با ایشان) مصافحه و مغالقه بجای آورد و اظهار اخلاص و دولت خواهی خود را با امرای درگاه شاهی و دعوی یک رنگی و جانسپاری نموده گفت که چون مدتی شد که سعادت پایبوس مرشد کامل را دریافته بودم بنابر خواهش در یافت این سعادت

¹ [Lacuna].² (بر آوردند).

احرام ملازمت بسته بعتبه علیّه شتافته آمدم امراء فدوی باز کشته حقیقت حال را بذروه عرض رسانیدند مرشد کامل اورا طلب فرموده میرزا محمد بواسطت امراء عظام بیای بوس شاه فلک مقام مشرف کردید بعد از دریافت این سعادت مکتوب ش[ی]روانشاهرا بنظر انور رسانیده احوال بداندیشی آن بدمآلرا معروض داشت و در مجلس بهشت آیین در حضور امراء حضرت شاه دست بر کلام الله رسانیده مجدداً قسم یاد نمود که بخاطر این بنده دولخواه غیر از بندگی و جان سپاری چیز دیگر نمیرسد [48a] و بسبب حکومت و مال دنیا از برای دو روزه حیات پای از دایره اخلاص و جان فشانی بیرون نکذاشته فریفته معاندان این دودمان ولایت نشان نخواهم شد و این بنده یکت جهه دانستم که اینمعنی بعرض مرشد کامل رسیده و آنحضرت کمان غدر و بی وفایی در باب این غلام فدوی برده اند از برای رفع آن [مظنه] سر قدم ساخته خود را بخدمت رسانیدم امیدوارم که چون مکرر [ا] انوار¹ اخلاص و جان سپاری بنده بر رای عالم آرا پرتو افکنده امثال این حکایات را در ماده بنده خود قبول نفرمایند [بیت] کمان بد اندر حق نیک خواهان * روا نیست بگذر ازین بد کمانی * شاه کیتی پناه میرزا محمد را بخلع فاخره مختلعه ساخته و مردم اورا یکان یکان بخلعتهای خاص اختصاص بخشیدند و بمواعید الطاف بیدریغ شهریار و اعطای بلا نهایت شاهی امیدوار² گردانیدند در آن روز رفیق

¹ (نور).

² repeated in C.

مجلس بهشت آیین وهم بزم خاقان [باداد و دین]¹ بوده روز دیگر رخصت مراجعت بمحلّ سکنی حاصل نمود بجانب حکومت گاه خود روانه گردید و حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران صوفیانرا که [در] موکب معلّی نگاه داشته بودند رخصت اوطان دادند که بمقام مألوف خود رفته در نوروز سلطانی بموکب عالی پیوندند ذکر [توجه] خاقان سلیمانشان صاحبقران از یورت قشلاق بجانب اردبیل بعون عنایت ملک جلیل

چون ایام زمستان بپایان رسیده دیگر باره نسیم بهاری باهتزاز آمده ورود نوروز سلطانی را در اطراف عالم بلند آوازه گردانید اهل روز کار را از رایحه شمیم عنبر آکین کلهای رنگین دماغها [486] معطر کشت و سبزه چمنها که از بیم لشکر سرما سر بگریبان اختفا فرو برده بود از برای استقبال آن روز فیروز سراز خاکت بر آورده باغ و بوستان از کلهای الوان مانند نو عروسان زیب و آرایش یافته کوه و هامون سبز و خُرم واز لاله] های کوناگون رشک گلستان ارم گردید خاقان سلیمانشان بعد از جشن نوروزی در اندیشه بیرون آمدن از آن مکان بصوب اردبیل بودند که سرمای صعب شده و برفهای سنگین بر زمین افتاده که کسی یاد نداشت ریاحین عنبر آمیز و سبز] های نشاط انگیز و کلهای عطر بیز از بیم سطوت سلطان برد و غارت و زیدن بادهای سرد در زیر برف مخفی² گشتند و فرمان فرمای [اقالیم] دی (و بهمن) بسیط غربا کلاه ساجابی از ابر و پوستین قائم

¹ (سلیمانشان).

² (مخفی).

از برف عنایت فرمود [و بسیط زمین و] قلل جبال از کثرت برف چون دشت وهامون در نظریکٹ سان می نمود چمن را که چندین اطفال ریاحین در مهد زمین بود بجز نرکس قُتْرَةُ الْعَيْنِ¹ از و نماند و همگی چون عارض کل پشمرده و چون شمع لاله دل مرده شدند [بیت] بجز مردن آتش تمثلاً نداشت * که در زندگی تاب سرما نداشت * ز برف اندران وادی جان کسل * زمین و فلک شدیم متصل * و از شدت سرما طیور هوا و وحوش صحرا بر روی برف افتاده مجال کربختن و پرواز کردن نداشتند و مردم از آنها گرفته بنظر حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان می آوردند و آنحضرت را از مشاهده آمحال تعجبات دست داده بود و مردم معمر بذروه عرض رسانیدند [49a] که در هیچ زمانی شدت سرما و کثرت برف بدین نوع کسی یاد نداشت بعد از آن آنحضرت فرمودند که عساکر ظفر متأثر از برف قلعه در نهایت استحکام بسازند فرمان برآن بموجب فرمان قلعه ساختند و بروج عالی اساس و خندق و شیرحاجی² و سه دروازه بآن قرار دادند و آن حصن حصین در رفعت باقلعه فلک دم برابری میزد خاقان سلیمان نشان بعد از اتمام آن قلعه بلند ارکان امر فرمودند که جمعی از صوفیان داخل قلعه شده به قلعه داری به پردازند و جمعی دیگر از فدویان بیورش قلعه مذکور مأمور گردیدند و از دو جانب قلعه طرح جنگ انداختند و آن حضرت از جانب دروازه دیگر متوجه گردیده قدم مردی و مردانگی از روی جلالت

¹ قُتْرَةُ الْعَيْنِ).

² پ

پیش گذاشته بقر و غلبه قلعه را مستخر گردانید و چون آنحضرت بنور ولایت که میراث اجداد عالی مقام داشت در یافت نموده بود که جمعی از منافقان باشارهٔ علی بیگ جاکیر در تغیر لباس بصورت صوفیان اخلاص منش آمده اند و منتظر فرصت اند که نسبت بذات اقدس غدیری نمایند بنابراین آنحضرت طرح این جنگ را انداخته و از باطن حضرات ایمنهٔ طیبین و طاهرین که حافظان این دین و دولتند در آن یورش آن جماعت نفاق پیشه معدوم و ناچیز کشتند صوفیانرا از مشاهدهٔ اینحال اعتقادی که بآنحضرت داشتند از دیاد پذیرفت و غلغلهٔ نشاط ارباب طریقت از ایوان کیوان در گذشت بعد از آنکه خسرو ثوابت و سیار [در اوایل برج¹ ربیع] منزل ساخت آنحضرت از یورت قشلاق اعلام نصرت فرجان [496] بصوب کوکچه دنکیز بر افراختند و روی توجه بد آنجانب آورده در لنکرکنان در منزل شاه سوار بیگ نزول اجلال فرمودند و یکشب در آنمنزل توقف نمودند روز دیگر کوچ فرموده در قریهٔ ماتبان² در خانه نوشیر [وان] بیگ طالش حاکم مغانات فرود آمدند و از آنجا متوجه زیارت حظیرهٔ مقدسهٔ منورهٔ جد بزرگوار خود گردیدند بعد از طی مراحل در ضمان امان ملک مغان بدار الارشاد اردبیل داخل شده در خانهای والد بزرگوار خود سلطانحیدر انار الله برهانه نزول اجلال فرمودند علم شاه بیکم والدۀ ماجدهٔ آنحضرت و برادران و همشیره کان کرامی بعد از مدت ایام

¹ (ثور را).

² [ماتبان] ?

فراق با جهان جهان آرزو و اشتیاق بدیدار فرخنده آثار آن شهریار
 فایز کشتند و آنحضرت از بیم اهل ظلم و عدوان مصلحت در
 توقف اردبیل ندیده مشورت با ارباب هدایت فرمودند که بکدام
 جانب اراده نمایم؟ امرا همگی متفق بعرض رسانیدند که چون
 از یورت قشلاق قبل ازین ارقام مطاعه باقاصدان قمر مسیر باطراف
 ولایت روم و شام از عقب صوفیان اخلاص کیش ارسال فرموده‌اند
 اگر بسر حدّ ارزمان از راه کوچجه دنکیز تشریف برند که در آنجا
 هوا خواهان این دودمان ولایت نشان نزدیکند و جمعیت ایشان
 از خبر ورود موکب مسعود زودتر خواهد شد بصواب اقربست بعد
 از اجتماع عساکر ظفر مآثر بهر جانب که رای عالی قرار گیرد
 بدانصوب در حرکت آمده تکیه بعون عنایات آلهی و امداد
 حضرت ایّمّه معصومین علیهم السّلام نموده [50a] متوجّه مقصد
 کردیدن بصلاح انسب¹ خواهد بود

Translation:—

ISMA'ĪL RECEIVES INTIMATION FROM THE LORD OF THE AGE
 OF HIS "COMING."

[When Isma'īl heard of the eruptions in the states of Īrān, and of the rebellions of the Turkomān chiefs, he desired to leave Lāhijān and go to Ardābīl, that, with the spiritual aid of his saintly ancestors, he might clear the flower-garden of religion of the chaff and rubbish of insubordination. When he expressed this desire to some of his disciples and Ṣūfīs, they knowing that his "coming" was near at hand, bound the girdle of obedience and self-

¹ (اقرب).

sacrifice round their souls and became expectant. Isma'īl then sent one of his disciples to Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī to announce to him his intentions, and to obtain leave for him to depart. But Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī, considering the tender years of Isma'īl (who was then only twelve years of age), and his lack of allies, and the numbers and strength of his enemies, would not allow him to leave the country, but said: "It is not yet time for his 'coming.' It is wisest for him to wait a little longer." The Ṣūfī returning, delivered Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī's message, in compliance with which Isma'īl remained where he was. A few days later he went and visited Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī in person, and explained to him¹ his project of leaving Lāhijān for Ardabil. Mirzā 'Alī again begged him to abandon his plan, but this time Isma'īl refused (to listen to him), and so Mirzā 'Alī was obliged to turn his attention to some of the necessary preparations.]² On the following day Isma'īl rode out hunting with some of his disciples. Not far from Lashta Nashā they arrived at the edge of a dense forest. Isma'īl, having crossed a river which flowed by there, said to his companions: "No one of you is to follow me across this river, but you are to await my return on the other side." Isma'īl then entered the forest, and no one knew what had become of him until he came out again. How Isma'īl was girt with a belt; how he came out of the forest bearing a sword suspended from a sword-belt,³ and the other "signs" which the Ṣūfīs witnessed, will appear from the account of Dede Moḥammad Rūmlū, which is given below. This man was a Ṣūfī and a darwish, gifted with second sight,⁴ an Arūm Īlī,⁵ and in the year 907 had the honour of kissing the "Perfect Guide's" feet in the market-place called Ṣāhib-ābād in Tabriz. He also describes

¹ *lit.* "said to him with the tongue of divine inspiration."

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar here mentions that Mirza 'Alī escorted Isma'īl on the first stages of his journey to Ardabil, and then turned back. Khwāndamīr then passes straight on to tell us how Isma'īl made Arjwān his winter quarters.

³ *lit.* which showed a "sword-belt" (*ḥamāil*).

⁴ *Ṣāhib-ḥāl*.

⁵ *Rūm-īlī* is the translation of the Greek *Ῥωμανία*.

how he saw Isma'il in the desert of Mekka, in the presence of the Lord of the Age¹ (upon whom be peace).

ACCOUNT OF DEDE MOHAMMAD AND WHAT HE SAW ON HIS PILGRIMAGE TO MEKKA.

Dede Moḥammad was a darwish of pure life, and a disciple of Ḥasan Khalifa Tikeli,² who dwelt between the Tike Īlī and the Arūm Īlī. Ḥasan Khalifa, also a darwish, was a disciple of the Ṣafavīs. He had once waited on Sultān Junaid, and twice on Sultān Haidar, who had sent him with forty Ṣūfīs to a *chilla-khāna*,³ where each had a jug of water and a loaf of bread as their sustenance during the period of fasting [*chilla*]. When this period was over they came out of the *chilla-khāna*. All of them had consumed their provisions, excepting only Ḥasan Khalifa, who brought his untouched to "His Holiness,"⁴ who then sent him back to Tike Īlī, having first given him a promise with regard to the appearance and coming of Isma'il. When he returned to the aforesaid Īl he performed many miracles and uttered prophecies, repeatedly announcing to pious Ṣūfīs the coming of Isma'il. On leaving this world he bequeathed his "throne"⁵ to his son Bābā Shāh Kūlī, who was also a revealer of mysteries and a worker of wonders, and gave him an *ablaḳ*⁶ saying: "In the year 907 our Guide will mount the throne of Īrān in Tabriz. This is a present entrusted to me [*imānat*]

¹ The Twelfth Imām.

² The Kizilbāsh were composed of seven principal tribes, namely, 1. Ustājlu, 2. Shāmlū, 3. Tikeli (often falsely given as *Nikkalu*), 4. Bahārlū, 5. Zu'lqadr, 6. Kājār, 7. Afshār.

³ *Chilla* is a religious fast of forty days duration; the *chilla-khāna* is a place of seclusion to which the pious retire during the fast. For some interesting remarks on the subject, see Olearius, Adam. *Persianische Reise = Beschreibung*, 1656, p. 464.

⁴ Sultān Haidar. See note above.

⁵ Saints are spoken of as succeeding each other to the throne (of spiritual guidance). They many of them even bear the titles of Sultān and Pādishāh. Thus Isma'il, before he came to temporal power, is spoken of as a "prince," as are also his brothers.

⁶ *Ablaḳ* must mean a precious stone of some sort, probably of changing colours. (I cannot find it in any dictionary applied to stones or jewels.)

for that prince—give it him with my salutations.” So Bābā Shāh Kulī awaited the appointed time. In the year 905 Dede Moḥammad, who was a disciple of Khalīfa, desiring to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, asked the permission of Bābā Shāh Kulī, who said to him: “You have permission, go; but when you have completed your pilgrimage to Mekka you will visit the Holy Shrines¹ (in Babylonia) and thence go to Tabrīz. On the first day of your arrival there the time will have come for one of the sons of purity and goodness, and he will have become pādishāh, having caused coins to be struck and the *khutba* read in his name; you will find him playing polo in the square [maidān] of Tabrīz. You will go to him and greet him from me and give him this *ablaḳ* to fasten on his crown.” Dede Moḥammad, having accepted the *imānat*, set out for Mekka. When he had performed the circuit of Mekka and visited Medina, he turned towards Baghdād. Between Medina the sanctified² and Baghdād he got separated from the caravan and was overcome by sleep. On awaking he could find no trace of the caravan, and for three days he wandered through that desert, supported only by his spiritual power,³ until at length he fell exhausted to the ground, and his tongue hung out of his mouth: from sheer thirst he longed for death. When the mid-day sun shone straight down upon him he perceived an Arab youth riding towards him, who coming up to him said: “Oh! darwish, arise, for thou art not far from cultivated land.” The darwish indicated by signs that he was too feeble to walk. The youth then took his hand, and no sooner was his hand in that of the youth than he felt all his strength return. So he arose and was led by the youth towards a hill; when they reached the summit of the hill he looked around and saw that as far

¹ *‘Atabāt*, lit. the thresholds.

² I have thus translated the epithet *bā taskinat*, which means “under divine influence.”

³ *Darwishī*, that is, the degree of continence and endurance he had attained to by leading the strict life of a darwish.

as the eye could reach the plains were covered with verdure and roses and tulips, and that gold-embroidered tents and silk canopies had been spread out. Turning to his companion he said: "Oh! Arab youth, no one ever saw such a place as this in the deserts of Mekka and the Najaf-i-Ashraf.¹ What place is this? and who is the lord of these tents and palaces?" The young Arab replied, "You will know afterward?" He then walked by the young man's side, until they came to a palace, whose cupola out-rivalled the sun and moon. They then entered, and a delightful apartment met his view, the like of which he had never seen. Golden thrones were arranged side by side, and on one of the thrones a person was seated whose face was covered with a veil. Dede Moḥammad, placing his hand on his breast, made a salutation, whereupon an answer to his salutation came from the veiled one, who having bidden him be seated, ordered food to be brought for him. The like of this food he had never seen in his life before. They also brought some cold water, which Dede Moḥammad drank, nor had he ever tasted such refreshing water. As soon as he had finished his repast, he saw that a party of men had entered, bringing a boy of about fourteen years of age, with red (*surkh*) hair, a white face, and dark-grey² eyes; on his head was a scarlet cap. Being entered he made a salutation and stood still; the veiled youth then said to him: "Oh! Isma'il, the hour of your 'coming' has now arrived." The other replied: "It is for your Holiness to command." The prince then said: "Come forward." He came forward, and His Holiness taking his belt three times lifted it³ up and placed it on the ground again. He then, with his own blessed hands, fastened on the girdle, and taking (Isma'il's) cap from his head, raised it and then replaced it. He wore a Kurdish belt-dagger; this His Holiness took from him and threw

¹ *Najaf* is the tract of country in which Karbalā is situate.

² *Mish-chashm*, lit. sheep-eyed.

³ This passage is rather obscure. I am not sure whether *him* (Isma'il) or *it* (the belt) is intended.

to the darwish, saying: "Keep this, for it will stand you in stead." His Holiness then told his servants to bring his own sword, which, when brought, he fastened with his own hands to the girdle of the child. Then he said "You may now depart." Having recited the *Fātiḥa* he entrusted the child to the two or three persons who had brought him in. When they had taken the child away, he made a sign to the young Arab to lead the darwish back to his caravan; and having brought him to it, said: "This is the caravan from which you were separated." When Moḥammad Dede saw the caravan he said: "Oh! youth, tell me, for God's sake, who that prince was and who the child?" He replied: "Did you not know that the prince whom you saw was no other than the Lord of the Age?"¹ When Dede Moḥammad heard this name he stood up and said: "Oh! youth, for the love of God, take me back again that I may once more kiss the feet of His Holiness, and ask a blessing of him, perchance I might be allowed to wait on him." But the youth replied: "It is impossible. You should have made your request at the first. You cannot return. But you can make your request where you will, for His Holiness² is everywhere present and will hear your prayers." The darwish then sought to return, but he could no longer see the rider, and ascending to the summit of the hill looked around in vain for any signs of those flowers and palaces. He uttered a deep sigh, and saw that his caravan had gone on far ahead. He was therefore obliged to rejoin the caravan. The rest of Dede Moḥammad Rūmlū's story, and how he went to wait on Isma'īl, will be related among the events of the year 907.

¹ The twelfth Imām.

² *Sāhib-ul-amr*, the Lord of Command, another epithet for the twelfth Imām.

ISMA'ĪL COMES OUT OF THE FOREST, AND SETS ON HIS
ROAD WITH SEVEN ŠŪFĪS.

The Šūfis, who, in obedience to Isma'īl's command, were awaiting him on the bank of the river near the forest, at the end of about two hours, seeing no signs of him, began to grow uneasy and anxious for his safety. But since they had been forbidden to cross the river, they could not enter the forest to see if anything had occurred to the "Guide." In the midst of their anxiety they perceived Isma'īl emerging from the forest with dignity, with a sword attached to his girdle, but without his belt-dagger. The Šūfis, on seeing this, prostrated themselves before Isma'īl, and so much overcome were they with awe and dread that not one of them dared examine closely those "signs." Having all gathered round Isma'īl, they held council as to which road the "Perfect Guide" had better take, and they finally decided that he should go to Ardabīl by way of Tārm. At this juncture Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī arrived, bringing necessities for the journey, and again he tried to persuade Isma'īl to remain with him, but to no effect. He was therefore obliged to accommodate himself to his wishes, and Isma'īl, placing the foot of success in the stirrup of good fortune, set out from Lāhijān towards Arjwān, while Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī and a party of Šūfis accompanied him for a distance of two farsangs. He then left the Prince to proceed on his way under the protection of the King of Bounties, while he himself returned to the castle of Lāhijān. Isma'īl now turned in the direction of Dailam, accompanied by seven Šūfis, namely: Ḥusain Beg Lala, Abdāl 'Alī Beg Dede, Khādim Beg Khalīfa, Rustem Beg Karā Mānlū, Bairām Beg Karā Mānlū, Ilyās Beg Aighūth Ughlī, and Karā Pīrī Beg Qājār. They stayed in Dailam, and thence proceeded to Tārm, being joined at every stage on their road by Šūfis from Shām and Rūm, so that when Isma'īl alighted in Tārm he had

an army of about 1500 devoted Sūfīs. But since he did not place any trust in Amīra Hassām-ud-Dīn, for it was always said of this person that he was evilly disposed towards that blessed family, Isma'īl left Tārm to go to Khalkhāl. (The first) halt was made in the village of Barandaḳ, whence they hastened next morning to some cultivated ground belonging to the Shāmlū, and known as Shām Kizil Üzün. Now this place was noted for the sweet quality of its water-melons [kharbūza], and Isma'īl being especially fond of this fruit, they remained there several days, and were entertained by Shaikh Kāsim in the most hospitable way possible. And not being satisfied with his own hospitality, he further ordered forty roast sheep to be brought for their consumption. A few days later Isma'īl moved on to the village of Nasāz in Khalkhāl, thence to the village of Kūyī in Khalkhāl, where he stayed with Malik Muzaffar Tūḳājī Sultān, son of the blessed martyr, Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, known as Khalfa. After a short stay he set out for the village of Hafzābād in Ardabīl, thence to the village of Alārūḳ, and thence he came to Ardabīl, where, having visited the tombs of his ancestors and the saints, and having prayed God to help him to overcome the enemies of the Faith, he entered his own dwelling. At this time he received a message from Sultān 'Alī Beg Khākirlū, Turkomān, who was governing Ardabīl and Maghānāt for Amīr Alwand, saying that it was not safe for Isma'īl to remain in Ardabīl. "You must either go to some other country or else be prepared to fight." And since at that time his following was small and his enemies many, Isma'īl did not deem it wise to engage in a battle, and he therefore moved from Ardabīl to the village of Mirmī.

ISMA'ĪL MAKES ARJWĀN HIS WINTER-QUARTERS.

Moḥammadi Beg, husband of Pāshā Khātūn, who had enjoyed the privilege of kissing the prince's feet, now represented to him that it would be wisest for him to take

up his winter-quarters in Ṭawālīsh,¹ and make that his centre for collecting together his helpers and allies; this advice Isma'īl followed, and since Moḥammadī Beg had long-standing ties with Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, Isma'īl sent him to this latter. When Moḥammadī Beg arrived in Astārā, he went to Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, and with words of counsel brought him back to the path of discipleship and devotion. Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, on learning the approach of Isma'īl into his dominions, without delay, hastened out to receive him in State, along with Moḥammadī Beg and the nobles of Ṭawālīsh. Having kissed the feet of the "Perfect Guide," he represented to him: "This country belongs to your servants.² I hear the Prince meditates passing the winter in this country. This slave would be highly gratified if he might be allowed to wait on the Prince for a few days." Accepting his invitation, Isma'īl alighted in Arjwān, one of the villages of Astārā, while (Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān) exerted himself to the utmost to give him pleasure and satisfaction. Isma'īl spent most of his time fishing, of which sport he was very fond. Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, having appointed his own mother, together with a few maidens, to wait on the Prince, himself returned to his own residence; being, however, at all times anxious to attend to the Prince's wants.

When Sultān 'Alī Beg Chākīrlū heard of Isma'īl's migration to Ṭawālīsh, he sent the information to Amīr Alwand Mīrzā in Tabriz; at the receipt of which news Alwand Mīrzā was dumbfounded, and sent back the following message: "Since there is a long-standing alliance between you and Mīrzā Moḥammad, do all in your power to set him against Isma'īl." Then that wretched man, after much reflection, sent a messenger to the mother of Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, to deceive her with fine promises, and induce her to plot against Isma'īl. And that foolish woman, having swallowed the vain promises of Alwand

¹ *Ṭālīsh* or *Ṭawālīsh*; the plural form signifies the district.

² Sense of text a little obscure.

Mīrzā, suggested to Sultān 'Alī Beg Chāgīrlū that since Isma'īl went out fishing every day, they might (one day) push him into the water; and so, together, with Amīr Hamza of Ṭālīsh, chief judiciary of Mīrzā Moḥammad of Ṭālīsh, they were on the watch for an opportunity of doing so. But Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān, getting wind of the plot of these two impious persons, checked and reprimanded his mother, and treated Amīr Ḥamza of Ṭālīsh with severity and contempt: he continued also to try and trace the origin of the plot. Amīr Aghāī Gīlānī, hearing of these matters, went to Lala Beg and Khādim Beg and told them of the treachery of these two worthless persons, and of the efforts of Mīrzā Moḥammad to discover the secret. Lala Beg and Khādim Beg, being much alarmed, went and laid the matter before the "Perfect Guide." When Mīrzā Moḥammad heard that Isma'īl had been thus informed, he was confounded, and hastened to his dwelling, and took an oath before him saying: "I knew absolutely nothing of this plot, and when I was informed of it I checked and reprimanded my mother." Since his oath was allied to the truth, it was believed by Isma'īl and the Sūfīs. (Verse) of every word that is allied to good faith and good sense, the truth is apparent to all.

Now some have related this story in the following fashion.¹ Moḥammadī Beg, Aḥmadī Beg's brother, was at that date living with Mīrzā Moḥammad Sultān. Amīr Alwand Mīrzā sent a messenger to Mīrzā Moḥammad and Moḥammadī Beg saying that he would give them the government [*iyālat*] of Ardabīl and Khalkhāl, on the condition that they would seize and send Isma'īl to him. Mīrzā Moḥammad began to meditate which of these two prizes he would relinquish. But Moḥammadī Beg, concerned at the other's reflections, said to him: "It is impossible that you should, by means of the deceitful promises of Alwand Mīrzā, renounce the happiness of this world and the next! You must not, upon the entreaty of the lord of envy and malice, strew upon

¹ Notice again our author's accuracy and care in obtaining information.

your own head the earth of perdition and ignominy! For thereby the people of Ṭālīsh would enjoy an evil reputation till the end of the world. Only what is decreed by destiny will come to pass. And when would Ṭālīsh allow you to commit such a heinous offence for the sake of government in this base world. (verses) How can a man who plans evil deeds ever again recognize goodness? How can he that plants the branch of harmfulness cull the fruit of advantage?" Mīrzā Moḥammad, at the wise words of Moḥammadi Beg, fell to thinking of his own end, and entirely discarded his intention from his thoughts.

In the meanwhile Sultān Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwānshāh, sent a message to Mīrzā Moḥammad, saying: "I will pay you 1000 *tumāns* ready money if you will send Isma'īl bound to me." As it was several days since Mīrzā Moḥammad had waited on Isma'īl, he now, accompanied by a large number of Ṭālīsh men, brought Shirwānshāh's letter to him. But before he arrived, the "Perfect Guide" had been informed that Shirwānshāh had written a letter, and that Mīrzā Moḥammad was coming to find him with a number of people. On hearing these facts the Ṣūfīs, among them Ḥusain Beg Lala, Khādīm Beg Khalīfa, Bairām Beg Ḳarā Māulū, Abdāl 'Alī Beg Dede, and Ilyās Beg, grew apprehensive lest some harm might befall the Prince at the hands of Mīrzā Moḥammad, and by way of caution they decided that all his servants should put on chain-shirts under their cloaks and be all armed in readiness for a conflict. Thus, if Mīrzā Moḥammad and his men had hostile intentions, the Ṣūfīs, attacking them from right and left, would put those lords of insubordination to the sword. If, on the other hand, they came to do homage to the "Perfect Guide," there could, at any rate, be no harm in their precautions. So these pious men armed themselves fully, and formed a group around the Prince. At this juncture Mīrzā Moḥammad and his men approached Isma'īl's camp. The Prince thereupon sent out Khādīm Beg and Dede Beg to receive him, and to discover warily his real intentions, and report the result of their examination

to the Prince. When Mīrzā Moḥammad perceived these chiefs from afar, he dismounted from his steed, and, having embraced them and expressed to them his absolute devotion to the Prince's cause, said: "Seeing that it is a long while since I had the felicity of kissing the feet of the 'Perfect Guide,' I am now hastening to his blessed threshold with this intent." The chiefs then returned and reported to Isma'īl how matters lay; whereupon this latter sent for Mīrzā Moḥammad, who, through the medium of the chiefs, was allowed the honour of kissing the Prince's feet. After this he showed him Shirwānshāh's letter, and represented to him the evil intentions of that wicked man. Then, in the presence of the chiefs, he placed his hand upon the *Qurān* and took an oath, saying: "No other thoughts than those of service and devotion have entered the mind of this your servant. Nor would I, for the sake of worldly power and riches for the brief span of life, digress from the path of loyalty and self-sacrifice, and thus be deluded by the enemies of this saintly house. Nevertheless I, your single-minded servant, who thus make my representations to the 'Perfect Guide,' well know that the Prince has entertained suspicions of treachery and faithlessness in my regard. In order to dispel these misgivings and doubts, I have rushed headlong to wait on the Prince, and I hope that in the light of my devotion to himself he will refuse to listen to such stories about his servant." (verse) It is illicit to entertain evil thoughts of well-wishers, give up such bad notions! The Prince then bestowed splendid robes upon Mīrzā Moḥammad, and to each of his men he gave a robe of honour. With promises of unstinted bounty and royal favours, he reassured (Mīrzā Moḥammad of his satisfaction). That day Mīrzā Moḥammad was the Prince's companion at his meals, and on the next day, having obtained permission to return to his home, he set out for his seat of government. Isma'īl furthermore allowed those *Ṣūfis*, which he had retained in his army, to return to their homes, to rejoin him on the New Year's Day.

ISMA'ĪL MOVES FROM HIS WINTER-QUARTERS AND (BY THE
HELP OF GOD'S FAVOUR) COMES TO ARDABĪL.

The days of winter having reached their limit, again the fanning breezes of spring noised abroad in every quarter the advent of the royal New Year's-Day: while the senses of all men became perfumed with the odorous, amber-scented breath of the variegated flowers. The vegetation of the meadows, which from fear of the army of Cold had withdrawn its head beneath its cloak, now lifted its head above the ground to welcome that victorious day, and decked garden and field with flowers of various hues, as had they been brides. Hill and dale, verdant and bright with their many coloured tulips, became the envy of the garden of Iram.

Isma'īl, having celebrated the festival of New Year's Day, meditated moving from that spot to Ardabīl. The cold had been most severe, and heavy snows had fallen on the ground such as none remembered ever to have seen. The fragrant odours, the refreshing verdure and the sweet-smelling flowers, fearing the violence of King Cold and the forays of the bitter winds, had remained in hiding under the snow. By the command of Dai and Bahman¹ the surface of the earth had been presented with a grey cap of clouds and an ermine mantle of snow, so that from the quantity of snow the tops of the mountains looked like the level plains. Of all the sweet children which the meadows nursed in the cradle of the earth none remained but the refreshing narcissus, and all of these were like faded roses and withered tulips [verses]—

Unable to withstand the bitter cold,
The fire wished for nothing but to die.
The snow lay piled above the dismal wold,
And seemed to join together earth and sky.

¹ Names of two winter months. *Dai* corresponding to our December and *Bahman* to January.

So severe, indeed, was the cold that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field fell powerless to the ground, unable to take wing or flee away. Some of these animals were brought before Isma'īl, who was astounded at the sight. Old men, also, came to him and declared that no one remembered having ever seen so severe a winter or so much snow.

Isma'īl now ordered his soldiers to build up out of the snow a strong fortress. They therefore built a fortress with turrets, trench — (?) and three gates, and when it was completed Isma'īl gave instructions to his chiefs that a party of Sūfīs should enter the fort and busy themselves with its defence, while another party should be told off to attack it, and thus engage in a fight. Isma'īl advancing against another gate with great personal valour took the fort by storm. Now Isma'īl by the blessed intuition which he had inherited from his noble ancestors foresaw that certain hypocrites, at the instigation of 'Alī Beg Jākīr, had come to him disguised as Sūfīs and with professions of discipleship, to watch for a suitable opportunity to betray him. That is why he planned this fight, for in it he annihilated all that band of hypocrites. After this action the faith of the Sūfīs in Isma'īl greatly increased At the beginning of the spring Isma'īl set out from his winter-quarters towards the Gökcha Dengis. On reaching Langarkanān¹ he alighted at the house of Shāh Suwār Beg, and remained there one night. Next day he moved to the village of Mātībān, where he was entertained in the house of Nūshīrwān Beg Tālīsh, governor of the Mughānāt. Thence he proceeded to Ardabīl, where he alighted at the mansion of his noble father, Sultān Haidar. Here he found his mother, 'Alam Shāh Begum, his brothers and his foster-brothers, who, after all this long period of separation, were longing to see him. But since Isma'īl, fearing his cruel enemies, did not deem it wise to remain in Ardabīl, he discussed with the leading Sūfīs what road he had better

¹ Perhaps another name (an older form) of Lankurān (?).

take. They being all of one mind, suggested that before he left his winter-quarters he should send orders by swift messengers to the Šūfīs in Rūm and Shām, and then betake himself to the frontiers of Arzinjān by way of Gökcha Dengīs, for there he would be near his "supporters," who, on hearing of his arrival, would the more speedily assemble. Such was the most reasonable plan. Having collected an army he might then, with the help of Divine favour and the assistance of the Imāms, turn whither he would.

At this point the two histories begin to coincide very exactly; our author has a chapter on Isma'īl's march from Ardabīl to Arzinjān, and his encounter with Sultān Ḥusain Bārānī, which corresponds most closely with Khwāndamīr's account, commencing at the bottom of page ۲۱۴ of the Bombay edition of the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar. It is here, where the two histories so to speak unite, that I have chosen to end my article, in which I hope to have shown that our author has at least, for the early history of Shāh Isma'īl, much to tell us that Khwāndamīr was either ignorant of or chose to omit.

P.S.—This article was originally submitted to Professor Th. Nöldeke at Strassburg as my dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. I have been obliged to reduce its bulk by about one half of the original. All the most important matter has, however, been retained. I here take the opportunity of acknowledging the various corrections and suggestions which Prof. Nöldeke was kind enough to note upon during his perusal of my work.